

172
212



172
346



172
531
323



172
532
323



PLATE 39

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF AZTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL.

Top Row: Excerpts from historical picture manuscripts. 1. Arrival of the nations, in 1500, who brought a knowledge of writing (Mapa Quinatzin); 2. New Fire Ceremony of 1403; 3. New Fire Ceremony of 1455; 4. New Fire Ceremony of 1507 (2-4 from Codex Telleriano-Remensis); 5. The capture of Tenochtitlan in 1519 (Codex of 1576). Second Row: Last three constructions at Tenayuca, corresponding perhaps to the cyclical renovations of 1403, 1455 and 1507. Third Row: First three, Aztec pottery, Types II, IIIa, IIIb, found respectively in the cyclical dumps for 1403, 1455, 1507, and a fourth type, IV, made from 1507 through the Spanish Conquest of 1520-21. Fourth Row: First two, Aztec figurines made prior to 1403. Last four, made between 1403 and the Conquest, representing Xochiquetzal, Xipe, Xochipilli and Tonatzin respectively.

[p. 96(A)]

The Aztec Period

103

His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenochtitlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.¹¹ [684]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahualpilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This monstrous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.¹² [782]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

*Ah'-weet-zotl.

532

[296]

[871]



[643]

[292]



[796]

[644]



PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

Top: Left: Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or Calmecac. These people are of the poorer classes. Right: Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. Middle: Left: Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. Right: A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. Bottom: Right: Moctezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

[p. 128(A)]

532

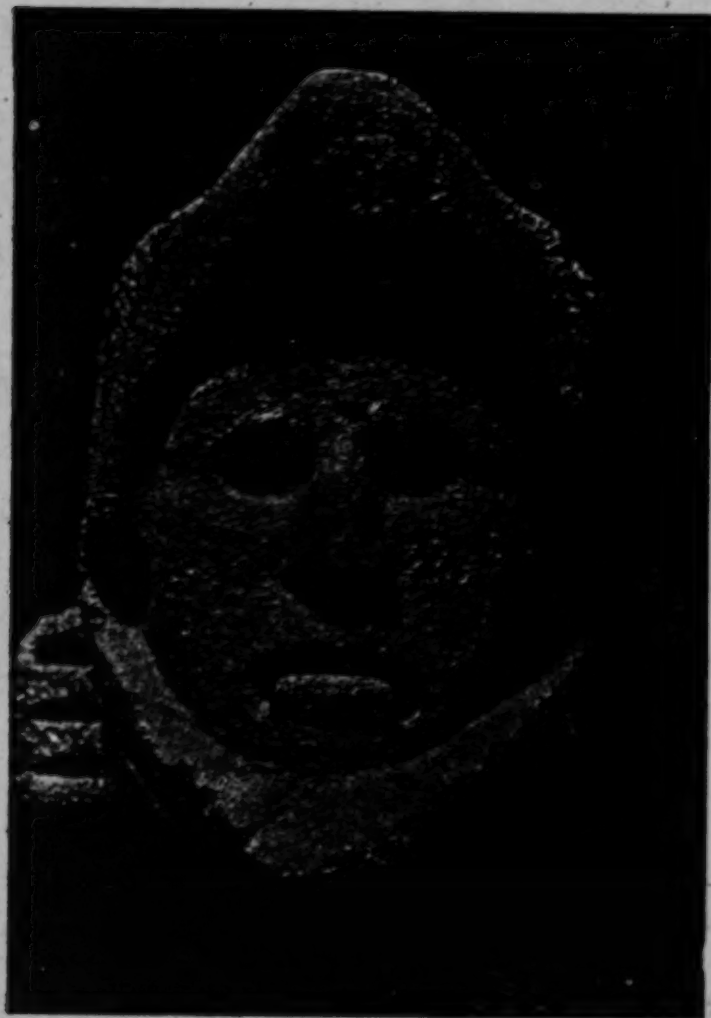


PLATE 40

EAGLE KNIGHT, NATIONAL MUSEUM

This hebl represents the ideal warrior, steadfast, hardy and devout. The "very pure gentle knight" of the Middle Ages would meet his peer in this noble Aztec. Photograph by Sumner.

[p. 128(B)]

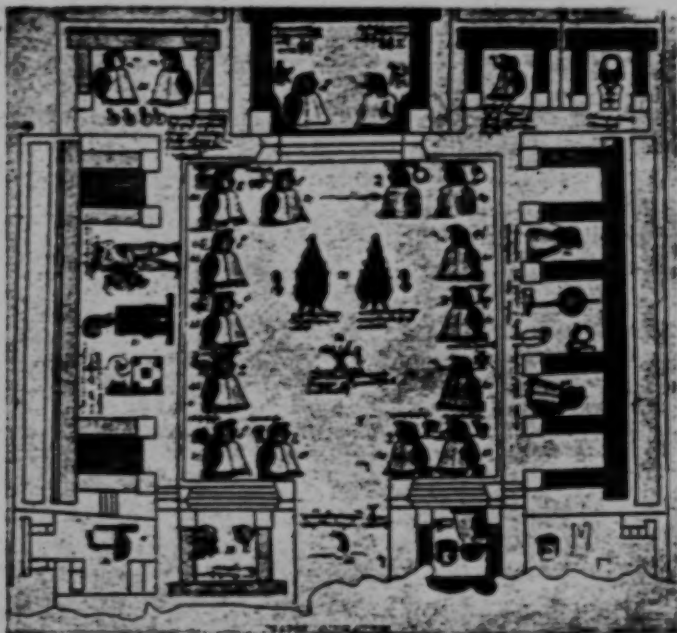
342
532


PLATE 42

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

Top: An Aztec palace at Tenocco from the Mapa Quinastzin, drawn in elevation without perspective. Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, father and son, face each other in the throne room. In the courtyard six vassal chieftains, including the chief of Chicomoztli (No. 46). The right side of the court is walled by storehouses for tribute: at the left is a temple, designated by the scribe as a hall of science and music. The top rooms are for the judges (left) and the arsenal (right). The bottom rooms house the war council and visiting ambassadors. Bottom: Left: House of war and death, still used in Mexico. Right: A chief's house with adobe walls on stone foundations, wooden pillars for the innerroom and fresco painting on the facade.

[p. 128(D)]

532
601
342

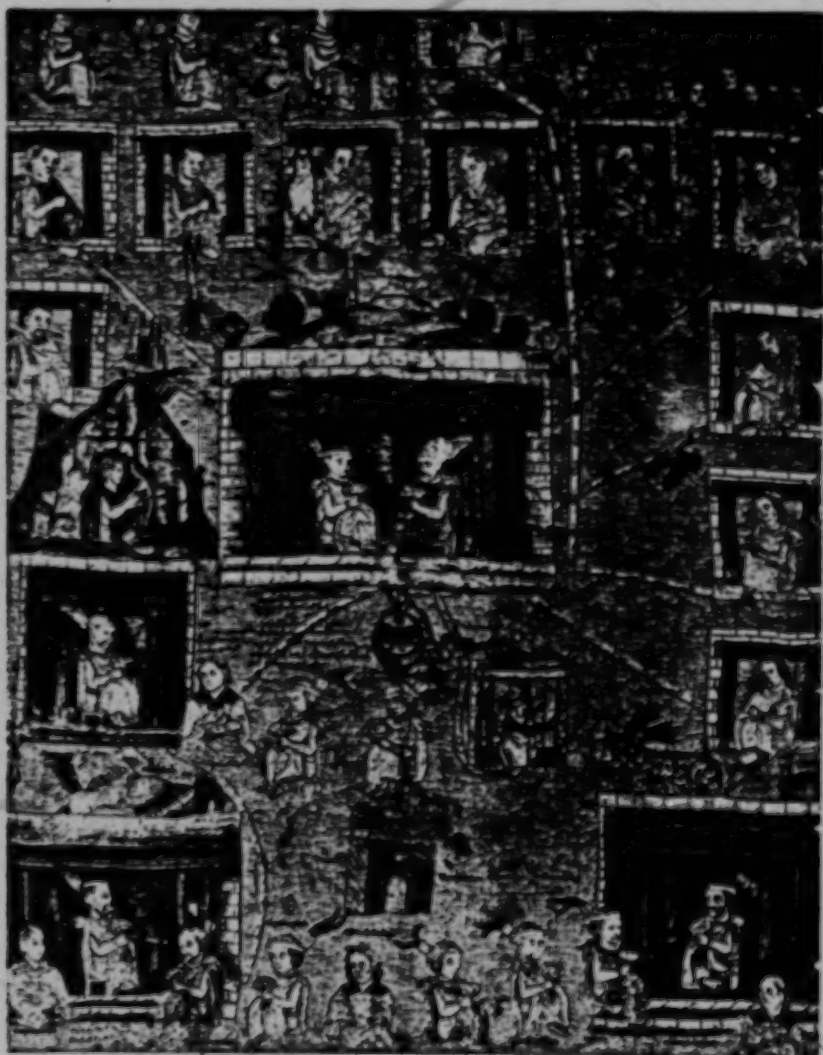


PLATE 44
AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

The Lienzo Chulchihuitzin Vasquez shows the chief and the founder of his line in the central house. The topmost row of figures discloses his descent, and the smaller houses joined to his palace by roads are those of his subjects. The people in the two large houses at lower right and left are allies. Post-Conquest painting on cloth.

[p. 128 (F)]

Craftsmanship

141

that could tear through human flesh at a single stroke, and³²⁴ this type of knife, not found in earlier horizons, was produced commonly with the extra care in chipping which is to be expected in a ceremonial object. (See Plate 16.)

The three-legged *metate*, or grinding stone, was not better⁴¹² made in Aztec times than before. In Middle Culture and¹⁷⁷ Toltec times it had an edge, so that the *metlapil* (son of the *metate*, i.e., *mano*, or grinding stone) was beveled and fitted within the confined space. The Aztec *metate* was flat, and the *mano* had swollen handles, projecting on either side of the grinding surface of the *metate*. I have never had the misfortune to break my back grinding corn in a *metate*, so that I have no way of knowing whether this represents a technical advance or a mere change in style.

The demands of ritual necessitated stone boxes for burn-³²⁴ing and storing human hearts. These boxes were pecked out⁵³² of lava and lavishly decorated inside and out with reliefs,^[796] referring symbolically to the gods for whom the sacrifice was made. Some of these eagle cups (*cuauhxicalli**) fall into that area of superior craftsmanship we designate in our own culture by the term "fine art." The great circular cup, ordered by Tizoc and miscalled the Sacrificial Stone, eight feet in diameter and two and one half feet thick, attained the stature of a monument. Stone incense burners, often in the form of the Old God, were common in Toltec and rare in Upper Middle Culture times. The quantity of religious sculpture, produced chiefly in late Aztec times, to judge from the style, did not detract from the quality of the workmanship, so strong was the control of religious and social factors.² (See Plate 55, bottom right.)

**kwow-shee-ca'lli*.

287
532

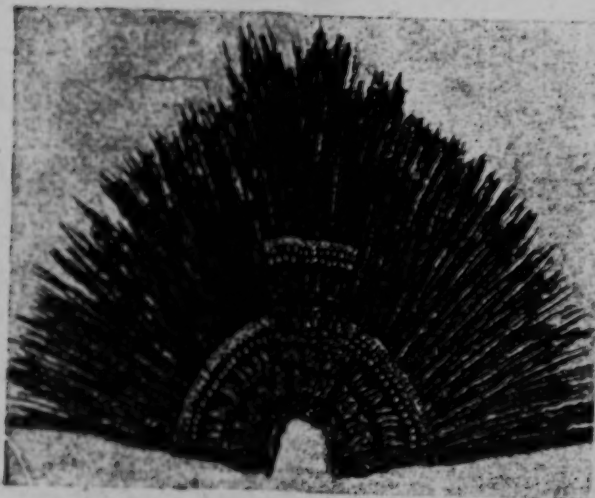


PLATE 45

AZTEC FEATHERWORK

Top: Nineteenth-century survival of a famous Aztec craft of which few examples have resisted the ravages of time. Bottom: Montezuma's headdress, now in the Vienna Museum. Cortes gave it to the Emperor Charles V, who gave it to his nephew.

287
292



[p. 144(A)]

326
301
532



PLATE 46

AZTEC GOLDWORK

Top Row: Small gold ornaments from Oaxaca reveal exquisite workmanship.
Middle: A buckle representing the god Xipe has a strong sculptural quality.
Bottom: Left: A gold worker from the Codex Florentino makes a mosaic ornament like that at right, in which turquoise mosaic enhances a gold reproduction of the shield and arrows, constituting the sign for war.



[p. 144 (B)]

301
326
532

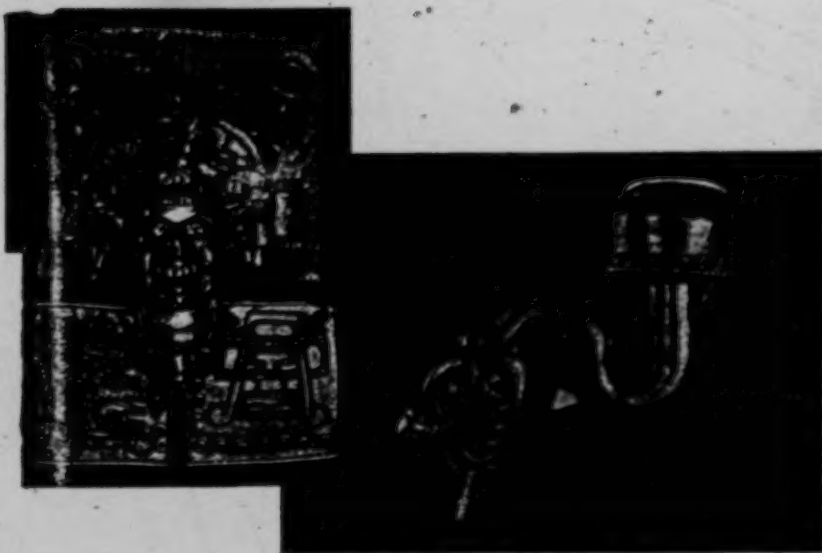
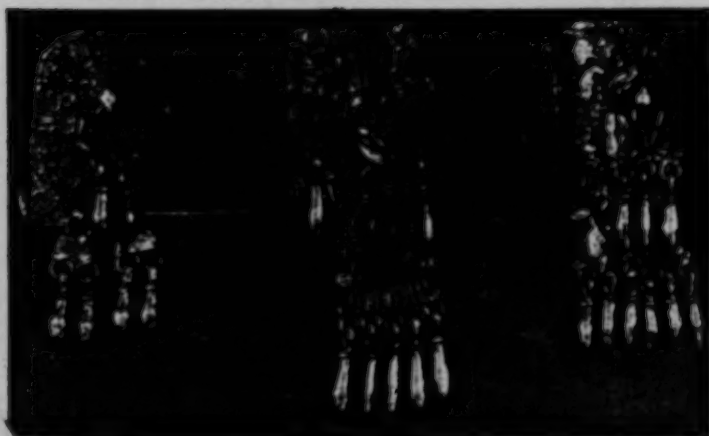


PLATE 47

AZTEC GOLDWORK

Almost all Aztec goldwork went into the Spanish melting pot. Most surviving examples come from Oaxaca, where the supply was doubled by Caxo's discovery of Tumbuc at Monte Alban, represented by upper left and bottom and opposite-page middle. The lip ornament (upper right) has a movable tongue that makes a very lively serpent indeed. These few examples give an idea of the range of form and skill of the Aztec goldsmith.



[p. 144(c)]

321

324

532



PLATE 48

AZTEC MOSAIC WORK

Mosaic work was one of the most elegant crafts and demands color reproduction to give a just impression. The mask in jade and turquoise, now in Rome, was part of the original loot of the Conquest. The skull (below), a British Museum treasure, is composed of light bands of turquoise and dark ones of lignite, set on a human skull, cut away in back to form a mask, possibly representing Tezcatlipoca.



[P. 144 (D)]

323 150

Aztecs of Mexico

531 with the traditional date of the diffusion of picture writing
 [212] by the peoples from the Mixteca. (See Plate 29, third row.)
 177]

The third phase of this style, made during the fifteenth century, saw a gradual conversion of the linework into crude, continuous patterns, but the construction of the vessels proper was much finer." A few potters rejected this slovenly manner and drew elaborate geometric designs. The closely parallel lines in some of these patterns were done freehand on the curved interior surfaces of the bowls, revealing extraordinary control in draftsmanship. Perhaps in trade, perhaps in tribute, many foreign vases were introduced at this time and stimulated the local potters to develop new styles of their own.

• [532] In the fourth period, during the chieftaincy of Montezuma, the potters broke away from these extremes of concentrated meticulousness and slovenly linework. Naturalism found favor, with birds, fish and plants used as designs and executed with that careless finesse of brushwork which characterizes Japanese *seppia* drawing. After the Conquest draftsmen accustomed to working in this style were able to copy accurately such elements of Spanish design as the double eagle of Charles V and the coats of arms of nobles." (See Plate 32, top.)

Polychrome pottery was made locally, usually consisting of a red slip, or wash, adorned with a geometric design in black and white. Coarse construction with painfully careful, if crude, draftsmanship characterized the fourteenth-century ware. In the fifteenth century the hands of the potters loosened so that they were able to paint more sophisticated designs on vessels as thin and delicate as any pottery ever made in the Americas. Trade wares were rare at first and

283
401

on discussions as to whether or not the Aztecs knew the wheel. The weight had the function of a flywheel in accelerating the rotation of the distaff. The explorer Charnay apparently mistook spindle whorls for wheels which might have been attached to toy clay animals. His ingenuous explanation is not seriously considered today, for later research has proved the existence of jointed dolls both in Toltec and Aztec times. These had holes in their bodies through which strings were passed, attaching the arms and legs, which were similarly perforated. In 1940 Dr Stirling discovered some clay animals which rested on rollers, tubes of clay probably connected by wooden axles, socketed to holes in the legs. This knowledge does not seem to have been put to any efficient use. In the history of invention there are several similar cases, notably the Chinese discovery of gunpowder. They used it to make a noise in ceremonies, but not until the Europeans took over the substance did its application have any practical purpose.

532
323

In Aztec times stone sculpture was the usual medium used in reproducing the human form. The figurine cult, which in Middle Culture and Toltec times manifested the chief development of the plastic arts, became insignificant. The use of the mold did not induce superior craftsmen to fashion even the originals. Yet in these dull reproductions of gods and goddesses there still lurks that ability to capture the spark of essential vitality so characteristic of this field of art in earlier times. Curiously enough, the goddesses, more kindly and less ridden with abstract virtues than the gods, usually awoke a response in these ancient idol makers that resulted in perfectly charming little figures." (See Plate 19, bottom row.)

The Fine Arts

159

at Cuernavaca revealed a temple intact in all except its roof.¹⁷⁴
 The temple of the Tepozteco, perched high in the hills over³⁴⁶
 Tepoztlan,* is another nearly perfect example of Aztec
 architecture on a small scale. A pit sunk in a vacant lot across
 the street from the cathedral in Mexico City reached the
 corner between the stair and the western wall of the great
 temple of Huitzilopochtli, War God of the Aztecs, and the
 massive size and ornate decoration prove that the startled
 descriptions of the Spaniards did less than justice to this
 tremendous monument. A recent excavation in a cliff over-
 hanging Malinalco, near Tenancingo, state of Mexico,
 brought to light a temple complex, largely hewed from liv-
 ing rock, which thrusts the famous Egyptian rock tombs
 of Abu-Simbel into the limbo of provincial opera-house
 scenery.* (See Plates 28, bottom; 37, top; 50-51.)

The Aztec temple had a platform, the sloping sides of³⁴⁶
 which were generally broken by three terraces. A steep, broad⁵³²
 stair flanked by balustrades, occasionally with a third divid-
 ing it into two, gave access to the top. Carved stone blocks,
 projecting in rows from the sides of the platform, represented
 snakeheads, skulls or some other symbolic form of the cult.
 At the foot of the balustrades huge serpent heads with gap-
 ing jaws added to the architectural design and created awe
 in the beholder. The stair rose broad and steep, focusing the
 attention on the sacrificial block at the top, over which
 victims were stretched to await the searching knives of
 priests.

Behind the block stood the temple or temples, which gen-
 erally had a back room for the idol and an antechamber for
 the priests. The walls were usually of dressed stone and

*Tepoztlan.

346 sometimes ornamented with carving or relief. The roof,
 532 which was thatched in poor or primitive temples, in important shrines was made of beams laid like a corncrib, growing smaller toward the top. Plaster laid on twigs or poles sealed the roof against the rain and was carved with designs symbolic of the god inside. The interiors were noisome places, coated with blood and smoke, for incense was burned in profusion, as were the hearts of sacrificed victims. The proportions of terrace to terrace, temple to platform, stair to façade, were maintained irrespective of size, producing an effect of height and mass which yet in no way detracted from either the platform or the temple. This sense of proportion extends into every aspect of Aztec art and craftsmanship.

327 Some temples were cylindrical and rested on square or
 346 circular platforms. These were dedicated to Quetzalcoatl,
 532 often represented as Ehecatl,* God of the Wind, to whose passage a rounded surface offered no obstacle. Sometimes the door of such a temple was fashioned in the form of a serpent head, while the circular building suggested its body. A superb temple of this type is part of the Malinalco group mentioned above, which is hollowed out of the living rock. The door is carved at either side in low relief to suggest a serpent head in profile, while the whole also can be visualized as a snakehead in full face, of which the open mouth constitutes the door. A bench circles around the walls within, and the *skins* of eagles and ocelot, emblematic of the rising and setting sun, are carved in relief as if they hung from the wall to drape over the bench. An altar in the center of the room represents another eagle. This elaborate concept is

*Ay-hay-catl.

532
324



PLATE 40

ATEC ART

Porphyry mask, Tenyo, Vera Cruz. This mask is an outstanding example of Aztec art, even though it was made outside of the borders of their domain. This carving and the Eagle Knight on Plate 40 are perhaps the finest secular sculptures from the Aztec period.

[p. 160(A)]

532
324
805

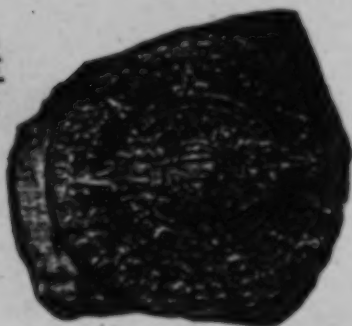


PLATE 51
AZTEC ART

Top: The Calendar Stone, thirteen feet in diameter, represents the history of the world. It is arranged in concentric circles, so the center of which is the sun set within the sign Four Motion, the date of the present era. The

dates of the preceding eras are given in the four arms of the Motion sign. The twenty day names encircle the central symbols, and they are enclosed by glyphs for turquoise and jade, signifying "precious" and the color of the heavens. Beyond this band radiate sun's rays and star symbols, while the outer border consists of two great five snakes, symbolizing time. **Bottom:** The National Stone, a monolithic block in the Mexican National Museum, suggests how the Calendar Stone was probably set on a platform. Its symbolism represents the Sacred War, the eternal conflict between the contracting and opposing forces of nature.

[p. 160(D)]

532
324
776



532
324
346

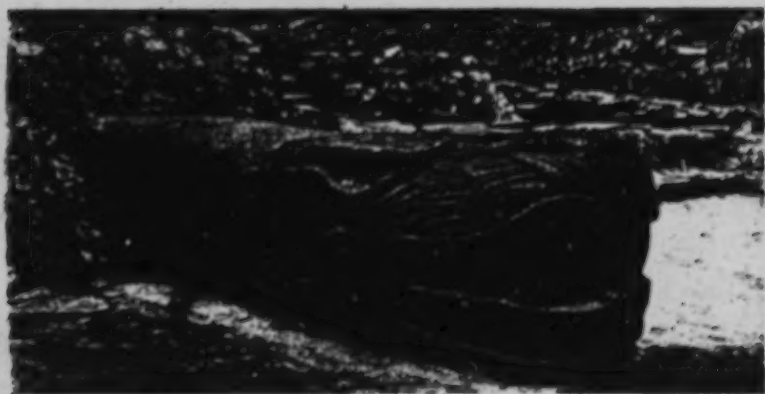


PLATE 53
AZTEC ART

Top: This feathered snake in the Mexican National Museum may well symbolize Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning and the Priesthood. This representation differs from the fire snake in that it lacks a raised crest over the head. Bottom: The enormous snake at the foot of the balustrade to the great temple in Mexico is a dramatic architectural ornament, frequently employed in Aztec temple building. Snakes were the major ornament at Tensyuca (Plate 50, above) and many other Aztec buildings, appearing also far to the east in Mexican Chichen Itza.

[p 160(E)]

● 532
776
324
778



534
322
532



PLATE 54
AZTEC ART

Top: Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods, a highly important member of the pantheon. This representation, over eight feet high, displays her power in terms of such fearsome attributes as two snakeheads, a necklace of a skull, hands and hearts, a skirt of writhing snakes and claws on her feet. The bottom of the statue's feet is carved to represent the earth monster. Bottom: Wooden drum with two tongues (*teponaztli*) in the form of an ocelot. The smooth, simple outlines contrast with the macabre congestion of the presentation above.

[p. 160(F)]

776
● 532
324
778



PLATE 55
AZTEC ART



Top: Another presentation of Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods. An earth goddess, she is also associated with death, so that in this case her head is a human skull. Bottom: Left: Small rock-crystal skull representing the Death God. This is a fine example of Aztec lapidary work. Right: A box, symbolically carved, to hold human hearts. Note the glyph for jade, i.e., "precious," banding the sides of the container.



[p. 160(G)]

776
532
324
778



PLATE 36

AZTEC ART

Top: This Corn Goddess is carved as a young girl. Her soft Indian beauty is brought out with the same sure simplicity which characterizes the warriors on Plates 40 and 49. Bottom: A colossal head, nearly four feet high, of Coyotauhqui, sister of the War God. She is shown dead. Simple handling of details enhances this monumental conception.



[p 160 (H)]

The Fine Arts

161

324
346
532 carved from the solid rock cliff and is a marvelous blend of architectural design and sculptural skill.*

532 The Aztec sculptors worked in relief and in the round, in heroic and in miniature size, and were equally able in symbolic and naturalistic conceptions, which they could execute in whatever medium was available. Our modern appreciation of their work is hampered by the prominence of religious *motifs*, which often detract by crowded detail or grotesque fantasy from the clean lines of their basic proportions. Aztec art, we have insisted, was never completely secular. Yet, in compensation, the Aztecs allowed a lively appreciation of natural elements to enter purely religious conceptions wherever possible.

323 From the time of the Middle Cultures the Mexicans used
532 baked clay extensively for sculpture and worked out in it
322 their artistic standards. The few surviving examples of wooden sculpture suggest that this medium was carved in accordance with stone techniques and did not, as in Egypt and Greece, serve as a training ground for standards later transferred to stone. If anything, the plastic methods of Mexico had their origin in a long and continuous handling of clay. Both media entail an emphasis on surface and contour; and the technical process of reducing stone by pecking and polishing, if more laborious, is not, in the last analysis, very different from the final smoothing and finishing of a work in clay. Thus the sculptors achieved a delicate appreciation of the contours and lines of the human form.

776 Partly owing to the past tradition and partly because the
532 images of the gods were set in the temples, the Aztec artists showed their figures in passive attitudes, more often seated than erect. The austerity of their life led the Aztecs to

776 attribute similar attitudes to their gods, and, as a result, the
 ● 532 soft emotionalism so characteristic of European art is almost totally absent. Thus Aztec sculpture is even more forbidding and gloomy than other Middle American arts, which have at first a depressing effect on observers accustomed to Old World aesthetics.* (See Plates 40, 49, 52-56.)

532 The same sense of proportion so evident in Aztec architecture produced a monumental quality in their sculpture. The smallest piece has the same dignity that attends the most massive temple carvings. A photograph reveals no impression of the original scale, and in one case the head of a goddess was carved identically in a small piece of jade and a four-foot block of basalt, with no loss of plastic or monumental values to either.²⁰

In relief sculpture the forming of the object and the disposition and subordination of details show the mastery of design inherited by eyes trained in centuries of weaving. The vast block of the thirteen-foot Calendar Stone is carved with as delicate an appreciation of the relative values of space as similar designs painted on pottery vessels or graven on jade. (See Plate 52.)

532 The finest Aztec sculpture, to the Western eye, repro-
 778 duces the young gods and goddesses that presided over the crops. Thus the Aztec body, long of trunk, short of limb, softly rounded in its well-fleshed strength, is simply and accurately portrayed with passive grace. The patient and resigned features were perfect subjects for the sculptor and his medium. Some gods could assume the guise of animals, and the sculptors took full advantage of their close observation of nature to carve a coyote with ear a tilt or to dignify a red basalt grasshopper with the armored malevolence of an insect

The Fine Arts

163

in heroic scale. The serpent, emblem of Quetzalcoatl, symbol of time and the year, representative of mystery and power, was frequently carved. The sinuous curves ending in the savage symmetry of the head offered a challenge which the sculptors accepted with a success that evokes the mysterious horror of the Aztec universe. (See Plates 53, 56.)

The grotesque gods are abstract and horrible to our modern eye. Coatlicue,* the "Lady of the Serpent Skirt" and mother of Huitzilopochtli, was thought of as powerful and awesome, so the task of the sculptors was to transmute those qualities into stone. The great statue in Mexico, whose head is twin serpents, whose necklace human hands and hearts, whose feet and hands are viciously armed with claws and whose skirt is a mat of writhing snakes, brings into a dynamic concentrate the manifold horrors of the universe. A smaller carving, simpler and less detailed, produces this same effect, implying that the very essence of fear was honored and worshipped. An altar of red lava, dug up in the street behind the cathedral, is grimly adorned with ranked skulls, but the design is so harmonious that death becomes an abstraction, part of a distant universe of fear, and not the imminent individual disaster which besets us moderns. (See Plates 54-55.)

The Calendar Stone embodies a finite statement of the infinity of the Aztec universe. In the center is the face of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, flanked by four cartouches which singly give the dates of the four previous ages of the world and together represent the date of our present era. The twenty names of the days circle this central element, and they, in turn, are ringed with a band of glyphs denoting jade or turquoise, which give the idea of being precious and sym-

*Co-at-lic-kway.

- 532
805 ● bolize the heavens and their color. This strip is girdled by the signs for stars, through which penetrate designs emblematic of the rays of the sun. Two immense Fire Serpents, symbolic of the Year and Time, circle the exterior to meet face to face at the base. Boring back through these forms to the significance behind them, we have a grandiose conception of the majesty of the universe.¹¹ (See Plate 52, top.)

- 349
532 In recent years, under the Presidential Palace in Mexico City, a monolith over a meter high was found, which represented a platform and a stair crowned at the top by a similar solar disk. Reliefs on the sides show Huitzilopochtli, God of War, and Tezcatlipoca, God of the Smoking Mirror, symbolizing the sacred war between night and day. Probably the Calendar Stone was set up in much the same manner, and it is tantalizing to think of the lost reliefs which explained and ornamented the great disk when it was in position.¹² (See Plate 52, bottom.)

- 532
805
762 The historical accounts record that the Calendar Stone was made in 1479 and the great eagle vase of Tizoc during his rule from 1481 to 1486. A trough, extending from the basin to the edge of the vase, has been explained as a drain for blood to run out. However, the design is not keyed to this drain, and the purpose of the basin is to burn hearts, not to receive blood. Therefore, the furrow was probably made by the Spaniards, who sought either to use the vase as a nether millstone or tried unsuccessfully to smash it as an example of idolatry.¹³

532. The dates of these two monuments indicate that this was the time when Aztec civilization burst into flower. It is a tribute to Aztec artists that, originally fettered by the more lowly tasks of handicraft, they could accept the tremendous

The Fine Arts

165

economic, social and religious stimulation of their sudden⁵³² ●
rise to power as a license to convert craftsmanship into great
religious art.

The Aztecs did not create their art forms or their religion,⁵³²
which seems to have seeped in from the Mixteca-Puebla⁷⁷¹
country. There the religious manuscripts and the ritualistic¹⁷⁷
concepts hewn in stone and painted on vases were more
complex and better drawn than their Aztec equivalents. Un-
fortunately, as yet, archaeological investigation has not ex-
tended to more than a sampling of this potentially rich area
of Mexican civilization. However, the Valley people, given
the opportunity, eagerly accepted these forms and created
their own versions of the parent art." (See Plates 57, top;
58, 59.)

The same elements portrayed in stone monuments ap-⁵³²
peared in smaller objects. Wooden drums and *atl-atls* had
relief carvings the equal of the temple ornaments in all except
scale. The same divinities were graven in bone against a back-
ground of turquoise mosaic. The goldworkers reproduced
in miniature the images of the gods and goddesses and the
symbols of their cult, carrying out in costume ornament the
elements of the ritual in which they were used. Lapidaries
succeeded in reducing jade, obsidian, rock crystal, opal,
moonstone and amethyst into tiny sculptures which carry
the same emotional authority as the grand-scale art. The bulk
of first-rate material is enormous. It would seem that the prod-
ucts of tribal craftsmanship had been raised en masse into
arts. Virtually overnight a cluster of primitive villages had
transformed themselves into great creative centers." (See
Plates 45-48; 55, bottom left.)

Painting and drawing did not reflect this transmutation.

- 532 True, we have recovered a few examples, but they come from sources which produced fine sculpture. The surviving frescoes at Tizatlan and Malinalco are in no way superior to the drawings in the codices or manuscripts. The use of color is lavish, but the drawing is crabbed and conventional, confining itself to correct delineation of ceremonial elements rather than to the combination of composition, perspective and color values into a significant emotional experience. Apparently the finer workers devoted themselves to sculpture, while drawing and painting, subordinated in the outward expression of ritual, fell to less skillful hands. Yet design was a requisite in a work in two dimensions, and, considered on this basis, the symmetrical disposition of the figures renders less serious the anatomical flaws and rigidity of presentation.¹⁸ (See Plate 57, top.)

The pictographic annals often exhibit an engaging charm in the little historical scenes recorded. The humor cannot be entirely fortuitous. There is something inherently fascinating about drawing little men that impels a draftsman to humanize his figures with a resultant and welcome loss to their dignity. Even the supremely competent draftsmen who decorated the Egyptian tombs in the Fourth Dynasty could not resist a casual impishness. Aztec drawing was hardier than the sculpture and was able to survive until the close of the sixteenth century. The Indians copied old records, and some annals were carried on in the same style until 1560. The friars used Indian artists to illustrate reports on indigenous affairs, and there are several manuscripts in which Indian and European drawing methods are inextricably and delightfully mingled. Pictured history has always had its appeal, to which emphasis of the essential and the suppres-

The Fine Arts

167

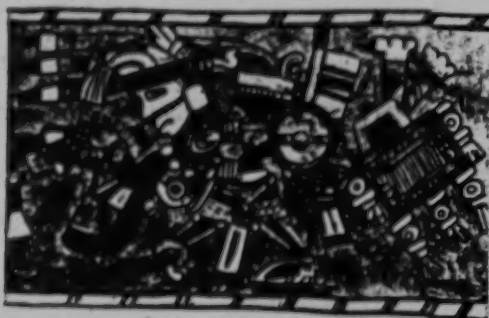
sion of the irrelevant, implicit in drawing, largely contribute.⁵³² ●
 In our present day, with all the superb methods of photographic recordings and reproductions, the comic strip has a vogue unparalleled in our history." (See Plates 62-63.)

Aboriginal music has largely disappeared. The friars⁵³³
 quickly adapted the chants and dances of Europe to Indian⁵³⁴
 needs and substituted Christian for Indian ritual practices, using song and dance as formulas easily understood by primitives. To judge from the instruments, Aztec music was strong in rhythm but lacking in tone. The two-tone and one-tone drums could emit sonorous rhythms, but the bone and clay flutes pipe pitifully and are not gauged to a fixed scale. The conch shell could be blown with varying notes, according to the intensity of the blast, although it was more suitable for summoning people than for making music. Whistles, rattles of clay and gourds, bells and shell tinklers enhanced the effect of carefully regulated rhythms. Notched bones, often human, were rasped with a stick and produced quite pleasant sounds. A strange type of drum, which seems to have been indigenous, had an amazing resonance attained by beating an inverted gourd floating in a large container of water." (See Plates 39, bottom left; 61, middle right.)

The dance was highly important, but native steps seldom⁵³⁵
 persist except in the most primitive outlying districts, for^[177]
 they were transformed by the friars into Christian patterns.^{797]}
 The chroniclers describe dances of many types in which masses of people participated. It is impossible that the Aztecs, with their profound sense of design and form, should not have had elaborate rituals in which great bodies of people moved in complex patterns to complicated rhythms. Song was used to reinforce the ceremony, and the words of some

776

532



361

778

302

776

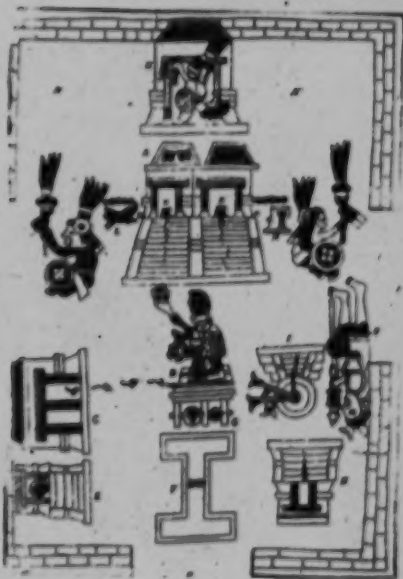


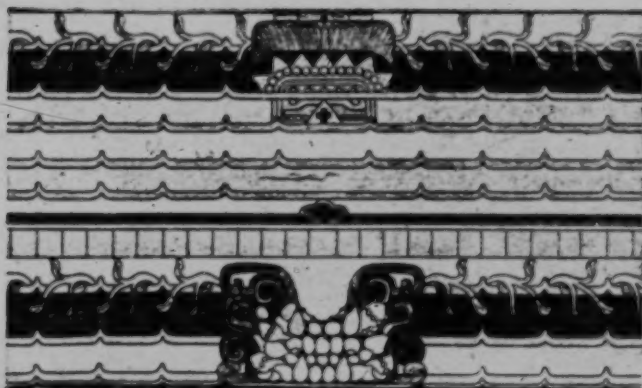
PLATE 37

ATEC RELIGION

Top: Tencatipoca, Smoking Mirror, from fresco at Tlanchan. Bottom: Left: The Codex Florentino plan of Tenochtitlan (cf. Plate 37). A. The shrines of Huixtli-pochtl and Tlaloc. B. Priest. C. Priests' quarters. D. Temple Platform. E. Eagle warrior's quarters. F. Ball court. G. Skull rack. H. Temple of Xipe. I. Sacrificial house. K. Old temple of Huixtli-pochtl. L. Five Lizard (date) and Macuilxochitl, God of Flowers. M. Five House (date) and same god. N. Dancing places. Q. Image of Xipe. P. Doors into sacred enclosure. Right: Gold ornaments representing the vertical universe, at top gods play ball, symbolizing the sky and the movement of the planets, next the sun disk, then a flint knife, representing the moon, and finally the earth monster.

[p. 176(A)]

778
532



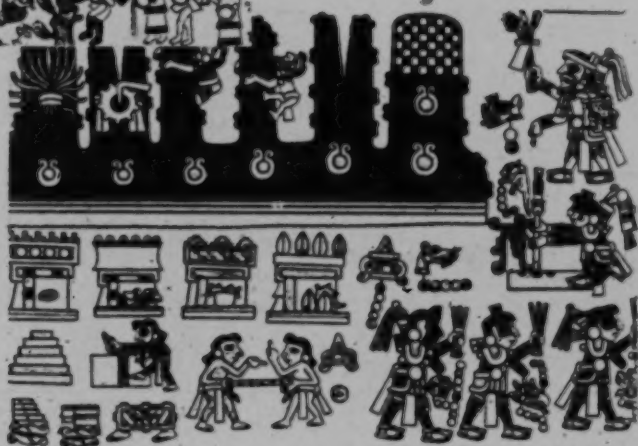
776
532



PLATE 58

AZTEC RELIGION

Top: Altar at Teotihuacan with symbols of agricultural worship. Note glyph at top center. Middle: Codex Florentino, special ceremony involving gods' descent to earth, with birdmen, snake dancers, rain-gods and priests dressed as the chief gods of the pantheon. Bottom: Vienna Codex, scene partly ceremonial and partly historical. Gods, dates, temples, chiefs and fire making are shown.



[p. 176 (B)]

776
532



PLATE 59

AZTEC RELIGION

Top: Left: Tlaloc, God of Rain. Right: Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning, in guise of Ehecatl, God of Wind. Bottom: Page from *Tenamamol* of Codex Borbonicus. The goddess Itzpapalotl, presiding over the fifteenth week, One House, is shown in the large division. The broken tree signifies Tainocan, a legendary homeland; the house below, with a man on top and the night sign in the door and the spider above, signifies the realm of darkness. The other symbols are offerings. The rectangular divisions refer to the days and their Gods. The day signs and numbers begin at the lower left with One House and end at top left with Thirteen Eagle. A Night God is drawn in each day square, beginning with *Huiztecuhtli* and ending with *Chalchihuitlicue* (Table XVI, 194). The squares above the bottom row and to the right of the vertical row reveal the Gods of the Day Hours and their birds, beginning at the left with *Xuhtecuhtli* and ending at the top with *llamatecuhtli* (Table XV).

532
212
776



[p. 176(C)]

532
782



PLATE 60

AZTEC RELIGION

Top: Left: Priests and laymen sacrifice two victims in honor of the War God. *Right:* War captive on sacrificial stone defends himself against members of the warrior orders. *Bottom: Left:* Sacrificial knife with mosaic handle representing an Eagle Knight, in the British Museum. These pictures from the Codex Florentino reveal the technique of using a stone knife to make a deep enough incision to reach the heart and tear it out. *Right:* Sacrifice to the Sun.

411
532
782



[P. 176(D)]

787 destroyed, one by a sudden fire, the other by lightning unaccompanied by thunder. A comet was seen by day, and sudden waves came up on the Lake of Texcoco. A sixth sign was a woman's voice crying, "My children, we are lost." Monsters appeared and were brought before the chief, only to disappear as soon as he had seen them. Most sinister of all

[532]

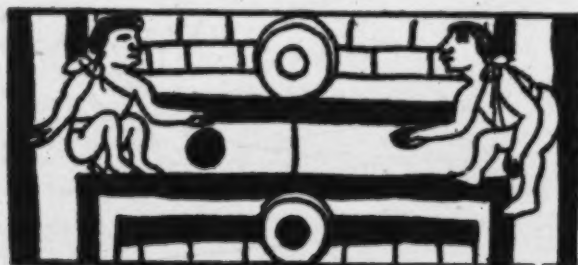


FIG. 3. The years before the Spanish Conquest had been full of evil omens for the Aztecs. To determine whether the dire predictions of Nezahualpilli, chief of Texcoco, were correct, Montezuma played and lost a ritualistic game of "basketball" with him as depicted above. *Codex Florentino*

was a bird brought in by some hunters. This bird had a mirror in its head, revealing the heavens, and when Montezuma peered at it a second time a host of armed men was disclosed. When the chief brought his soothsayers to witness this augury and to explain its significance, the bird flew away. Distorted as these occurrences seem to us, they must have had a most upsetting effect on the population of the Valley of Mexico.² (See Figs. 4, 28A-B.)

175 Consequently the emotional condition of the people was peculiarly receptive to the rumors, drifting in from the southeast, which told of four-legged monsters with human bodies issuing from their backs. As these strange beings moved up the coast Montezuma's spies and ambassadors began to bring

The Death Throes of the Aztec Nation 243

back more precise reports as to their nature, and even pres-175
ents and messages for their chief. (See Fig. 5.)



FIG. 4. Montezuma views the magical bird in the head of which was a mirror, showing first the heavens, then hosts of armed men, foretelling, according to tradition, the Spanish Conquest. *Codex Florentino*

[787
532]

The strangers were human, for they were vulnerable, receiving wounds and dying from assaults upon them. They had new and strange weapons, noisy and lethal, for cannon, muskets, crossbows and steel swords were unknown to the Aztecs. Also novel and dreadful adjuncts of war were the horses and the savage mastiffs of the Spaniards. In battle the strangers were invincible, operating in a manner completely



FIG. 5. The Spaniards land in 1519 at the site of Vera Cruz. Their ship and equipment are carefully shown. At the right, Marina, Cortes' interpreter, is exercising her diplomacy on a native. *Codex Florentino*

[532]

175²⁴⁴

Aztecs of Mexico

[532]



FIG. 6. Aztec sorcerers, sent from the highland, offer bewitched food to Cortes and his staff, who disdain the viands. *Codex Florentino*

[726] foreign to Indian principles of war. The simple Indian methods of mass attack were of little avail against the maneuvering of a well-drilled force, for the native tactics could only bring the merest fraction of their fighting force in direct contact with the enemy.

[754] The Spaniards also resisted witchcraft on the occasion when Montezuma seriously applied it. However, sorcery, according to native standards, was at best a two-edged weapon, so that it is doubtful if this failure had any other than a confirmatory bearing on the Indian attitude of mind toward the supernatural quality of the Spaniards. The problem that beset Montezuma was not that the invaders were themselves gods, but that they were the symbols, the vicars on earth, as it were, of vast unearthly forces bent on establishing a new social order. As such the Spaniards required the most gingerly handling.' (See Fig. 6.)

175 When the Spaniards were approaching the capital a political
669 problem entered to complicate the spiritual one. The

The Death Throes of the Aztec Nation 245

city-states, or pueblos, between the Valley of Mexico and the coast were independent communities and, even if tributary to the Valley powers, were often reluctantly so. Therefore, many of these tribes, like the Totonacs, welcomed the invaders as the spearhead for an open revolt. Others, like the completely independent and warlike Tlaxcalans, put the power of Cortes to a practical test in open battle and, when the Spaniards won, became the most loyal of Cortes' supporters. Cholula, a large town loosely allied to the Aztecs, met the Spaniards as friends, plotting to overcome them by treachery, a good Indian political maneuver instigated, perhaps, by Montezuma. The Spaniards, suspecting such a move, counteracted its efficacy by a judiciously executed massacre, thus, if not gaining a friendly community, at least creating a noncombatant one. (See Figs. 7-9.)

Montezuma and his more cautious counselors watched this



FIG. 7. Cortes and his army, on passing the great volcanoes southeast of Mexico City, ask the way. Note the smoke issuing from the crater of Popocatepetl. *Codex Florentino*

[532] ●

246
175
643

Aztecs of Mexico

[532]



FIG. 8. Montezuma, upset by the magical premonitions of disaster and by the failure of his sorcerers, does not know whether to flee or hide in a cave. *Codex Florentino*

slow ascent from the coast with apprehensive interest. He has been condemned by many commentators as an appeaser and has been made the scapegoat of this great debacle of Indian civilization. Yet consider his position. While the leading man in his community, he was not an authoritarian monarch. For mass action he had to rely on the group decision of the clans comprising his tribe, as well as on the very doubtful allegiances of the vassal states, whose immediate needs transcended any sacrifice of a far-reaching political nature. Thus not only the demands of the harvest season but also the fear of damage to the communal property made communities loath for war. Montezuma had no method of enforcing a long-range diplomatic policy, such as is so characteristic of European and oriental political history. Nor must the extraordinary gifts of Cortes and his Indian mistress Marina be underrated. The pair played on Indian psychology as master pianists would execute a duet on the piano.

The Death Throes of the Aztec Nation 247

175

His hands tied by both practical and psychological considerations, Montezuma received Cortes and the Spaniards without having struck a positive blow. Then ensued a new chapter in the story. Cortes promptly seized Montezuma as a hostage, and the latter's power to influence his tribesmen disintegrated. A mass revulsion against the invaders slowly began to crystallize, but it was confined to the city itself, without extending to the neighboring towns. People kept themselves within their houses; the market closed, yet no overt act was made. Cortes was allowed to leave for the coast to subjugate his new commander Narvaez, without open hostilities on the part of the Aztecs. (See Figs. 10-13.)

The storm broke during Cortes' absence. Some inhabitants



FIG. 9. Cortes meets high dignitaries from Tlaxcala, the pueblo most loyal to the conquerors. Marina interprets while supplies of corn, tortillas, turkeys, etc., are accumulated. Lienzo de Tlaxcala

[Text continues on p. 249. --- Analyst]

532
175



FIG. 10. The Spanish forces reach Tenochtitlan, the modern Mexico City, and Montezuma and his nobles come to greet Cortes. *Codex Florentino*



FIG. 11. Marina's value to Cortes cannot be underestimated. Here she is ordering an Aztec to perform some duty. To judge from the speech scrolls he complies with all grace. *Codex Florentino*



FIG. 12. A great aid to the Spanish military success was the use of cavalry. Here we see mounted crossbowmen, whose weapons were no less deadly than the firearms of the day. *Codex Florentino*



FIG. 13. Cortes seizes Montezuma as a hostage. The Aztec chief tries to calm his rebellious subjects who treat him with the contempt due a traitor. *Codex Florentino*

The Death Throes of the Aztec Nation 249

175 of Tenochtitlan had assembled to celebrate the feast of the god Huitzilopochtli. Alvarado, a tough soldier, lacking all Cortes' gifts of intrigue, scented trouble in this gathering, the actual innocence of which he had no way of knowing. Following the Spanish technique at Cholula, he fell upon the celebrants and killed them all. The city rose like one man and drove the garrison to cover. Actuated by the single motive of revenge against the invaders, the Aztecs were ready to destroy the Spanish garrison. However, the structural weakness of the Indian government became bitterly evident when the chiefs permitted Cortes and his reinforce-



FIG. 14. Following a series of outrages committed by the invaders, the citizens rise in arms against the Spanish. The Spaniards and their Tlaxcalan allies are besieged in the palace of Axayacatl. In this scene a field piece is shown in action, while the horsemen are held in reserve for a sortie. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

Aztecs of Mexico

175²⁵⁰

[726]

ments from the army of Narvaez to join the beleaguered troops of Alvarado. The ceremonial aspect of war in Indian Mexico did not envisage the splitting of an adversary's army and the separate destruction of its weakened parts, a rudimentary law of European military tactics.

Yet once the Spaniards were united in the city they ceased to be a military problem and became the emotional focus of the Indians' wrath and fear. They had to shut themselves up in the palace of Axayacatl to resist the force of this uprising in which the whole tribe participated. The Aztecs, having immobilized their enemies, visited their hate and rage in a manner unparalleled in the annals of Indian campaigns. Every citizen joined in hurling missiles at the besieged in-

[532]



FIG. 15. Here the Spanish are dislodging the Aztecs from a temple, where the Indians had gathered to enfilade them. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

The Death Throes of the Aztec Nation

251/75

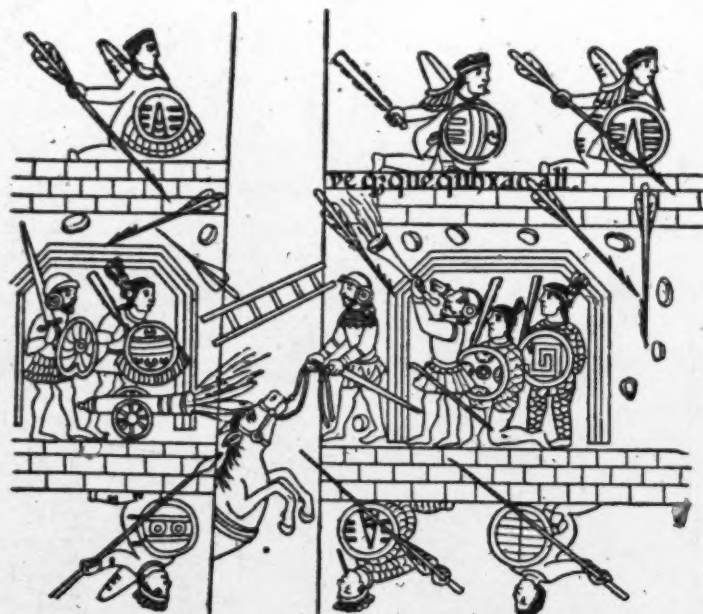


FIG. 16. Wooden tanks were built by Cortes to protect his men when Aztecs took up positions on the housetops out of reach of the sallies of Spanish cavalry. This spirited picture reveals the tanks separated by a canal into which a horse had fallen. The Aztecs on the roofs impede its rescue. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

vaders, and masses of warriors blocked every sally the Spaniards made from their refuge. (See Figs. 14-15.)

The Spaniards could not maneuver in the narrow footpaths along the canals, and the portable fortresses they constructed of wood, the first tanks used in the New World, were useless against enemies on housetops and in canoes.* (See Fig. 16.) The Spaniards lost heavily, and the unfortunate Montezuma met his death either at the hands of his own people, whom he was trying to calm, or, as two excellent authorities have it, at those of the Spaniards.* After having passed a week shut up in the palace Cortes decided to withdraw from Tenochtitlan. Just before dawn his forces made

175 their way through the hushed streets out along the causeway to Tacuba.

A woman getting water from a canal, saw them and raised the alarm. The whole male population surged forth along the roofs and through the streets. Some seized canoes and attacked the flanks of the marching column. The Aztecs tore up the bridges, and many Spaniards, laden down with gold, sank ignominiously beneath the waters or, while trying to keep afloat, were clubbed to death by warriors in boats. Alvarado, ever the precipitous man of action, confronted a wide gap in the causeway, plunged his lance into the lake bottom and in full armor vaulted over to the other side.* The panic increased, and order was not restored until the Spaniards reached Tacuba. Cortes sat under a giant cypress and wept as he took toll of his losses. Three quarters of the Spanish army had been lost in this rout and in the preceding siege. (See Fig. 18.)

The Spaniards found a temporary sanctuary on the hill of Los Remedios. Their adversaries, instead of following up



FIG. 17. A handful of the Spaniards reach the mainland. The Aztecs, instead of following up their advantages, plunder the bodies of the killed and drowned. Be it remembered, however, the Spanish carried off the entire Aztec treasure. *Codex Florentino*

The Death Throes of the Aztec Nation

175



FIG. 18. Supplies run low and Cortes secretly tries to reach the mainland along a causeway. His retreat is discovered and the Aztecs, massing their forces in canoes, wreak havoc on the Spanish forces. Tearing up the bridges, the Aztecs further hindered the retreat and all but destroyed the invading army. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

their advantage, plundered the dead and tried to recover the booty stolen by the Spaniards from the Aztec treasury. They lost a precious opportunity to destroy the remnants of the Spanish army by not carrying their attack to its logical conclusion. (See Fig. 17.)

However, the Indians did make some effort toward concerted action later. The Texcocans, formerly the principal allies of the Aztecs, gathered their forces together and tried to intercept the Spaniards as they made their way cross country to the homeland of their allies, the Tlaxcalans. At Otumba battle was joined. The Indians in their battle formation could not overcome the mobility and tactical sense of the Spaniards. Wounded as every man was, and exhausted from lack of food and sleep, they kept their discipline; and a desperate charge by the cavalry reached the chiefs, who fell before the Spanish swords. Once their leaders were slain, the

scant Indian discipline dissolved, and the tribesmen took flight. The Spaniards made their way to Tlaxcala to recuperate and to await reinforcements.

Montezuma was succeeded by his brother Cuitlahuac, and he, dying of the fever after four months, was replaced as war chief by their nephew, the heroic Cuauhtemoc. This strong and courageous leader was unable to overcome the mutual distrust of the Indian communities for each other. When the Aztecs might have joined together with other tribes to overwhelm the Spaniards by sheer weight of numbers, they did nothing.

In the meantime Cortes, having rested his army, began to consolidate his position. He made two series of campaigns, one eastward to the sea and the other in a south and westerly direction in the present state of Morelos. Utilizing Indian allies both as carriers and as a screen to conceal his more serious tactical movements, he subjugated town after town.



FIG. 19. Due to the hesitancy of the Aztecs, Cortes was able to reach Tlaxcala and refit his army. Here we see military supplies being brought from the coast. In the left center a minor disaster, involving the drowning of several Indian allies, is depicted. *Liempo de Tlaxcala*

The Death Throes of the Aztec Nation

155

175

[532]



FIG. 20. Cortes' plan to retake Tenochtitlan involved isolating the island city from the mainland. Tenochtitlan is shown in the center of the picture, surrounded by the lake on which float the war canoes of its defenders. The Spanish forces devote themselves to reducing the mainland towns. *Lienzo de Tlasecala*

[726]

In each case the Indian war convention of a single decisive mêlée proved worthless against the versatility of the Spanish attack. Cortes soon pacified the eastern country sufficiently to try to regain Tenochtitlan. (See Fig. 19.)

175

648

Typical Indian perfidy, from our point of view today, but common sense to the people of that era, virtually accomplished the downfall of Mexico. The Texcocans, closest allies of the Aztecs, and for that reason perhaps the most jealous

256

Aztecs of Mexico

175
648

•[532]

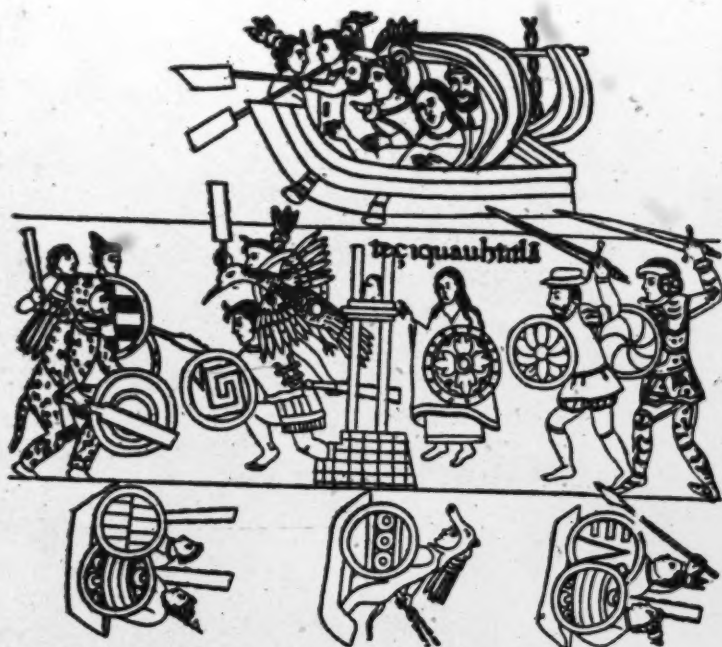


FIG. 21. Cortes built brigantines to defend his flanks while moving along the causeways into Tenochtitlan. In this picture a brigantine comes to the aid of Cortes and his allies, who are beset by Aztecs afoot and in canoes. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

of their success, resented the part Montezuma had taken in forcing the election of a war chief. When the Aztecs had had a strong chance of maintaining their supremacy after Cortes' retreat from Mexico the Texcocans valiantly took the field at Otumba. Now they switched to the Spanish side, seeing a chance of assuming a dominant position in Valley of Mexico affairs. Their defection gave the Spaniards a base on the Lake of Mexico and a means of mopping up whatever tribes remained unsubjugated in the previous campaign.

175 Having quieted the countryside, Cortes put into effect his plan of siege. He launched a fleet of small galleys armed with cannon, which had been constructed in Tlaxcala and

The Death Throes of the Aztec Nation 257

brought piecemeal across the mountains, to be assembled on the lake. These ships were to sweep the lake clear of canoes and protect the Spanish flanks as they moved in across the three causeways to the island city, Tenochtitlan. Cortes divided his forces in three parts to move along these approaches and close in on the capital. (See Figs. 20, 22.)

The galleys soon cleared the lake of any hostile fleets of canoes, and the Spaniards began to invest the city. The Aztecs, fighting for their lives, stubbornly defended their position. Every night they sallied forth to destroy the bridges the Spaniards had made across the canals during the day. In fighting of this kind the Spaniards could not manipulate



[532]

FIG. 22. The Spanish flotilla puts to sea. These galleys, equipped with oars and a sail and armed with a cannon in the bow, could play havoc with the Aztec war canoes. *Codex Florentino*

175 their troops, and neither side had any great advantage. The Aztecs, however, still persisted in trying to take prisoners to sacrifice to their War God instead of exterminating their enemies whenever the occasion offered. To offset this gain the thousands of Indian allies, who flocked to the Spanish side to participate in the expected victory, jammed the causeways and hampered rather than helped the besiegers. (See Fig. 21.)

• [532]



FIG. 23. Time and again the brigantines relieved situations like this where armed tribesmen in canoes sailed up to attack the Spanish rear. *Codex Florentino*

The Death Throes of the Aztec Nation

259/75



FIG. 24. The Spanish military problem was to raze enough of the city to permit the use of cavalry. The drawing at the right shows the gunboats taking part in an offensive with this end in view. *Codex Florentino*

Cortes decided to change his manner of campaign, and his solution, while reasonable to us, must have been little short of miraculous to the tribesmen. He sent the Indian allies forward to tear down all the houses they could find and fill the canals with the debris. When counterattacked, the allies retired, leaving room for the Spaniards on horse and foot to deal with the Aztecs. Each day the Spanish forces gained more room to maneuver and thus could count on recovering more ground on the morrow. The Aztecs, animated by a rare unity, fought desperately but without avail. (See Figs. 23-24.)

Toward the end of the siege an event occurred which indicated to the now-desperate Aztecs hope of eventual release in a common rising against the invaders. The people from the islands at the south of the lake, the Xochimilcas and

175 their neighbor tribesmen, filtered through the Spanish gal-
 648 leys by night and told the Aztecs that, as neighbors, they
 would make common cause against the whites. Overjoyed,
 Cnauhtemoc and his chiefs loaded them with ornaments, fine
 mantles and cacao beans, precious for the favorite drink of
 the Aztecs, chocolate. When night closed in again on the
 beleaguered city the Aztecs were startled by a great com-
 motion. The new allies were trying to drag off the Aztec
 women and children as slaves. It is pleasant to record that
 this knavery received its just reward, and the Xochimilcas
 were all either slaughtered or disposed of in sacrifice.'

175 Only when its members were too weak to resist and could



FIG. 25. Pestilence was a formidable ally on the Spanish side. Colds, small-pox, measles, and the like, were unknown to the Indians who, lacking any sort of immunity, died by the thousands. *Codex Florentino*

[53a]

FIG. 26. A factor in the downfall of the Aztecs was their custom of taking captives for sacrifice rather than to kill in direct battle. The heads of the sacrificed victims, both men and horses, were displayed in front of the temples. *Codex Florentino*



The Death Throes of the Aztec Nation 261

175

yepolinhā mexicana

[532]



FIG. 27. Cuauhtemoc, who conducted the defense of Tenochtitlan, is received with all the honors of war by Cortes and his consort, Marina. In the upper right Cortes may be seen greeting Cuauhtemoc's wife and family. The legend translated reads: "With this event, the Mexicans were finished." *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

no longer deal wounding blows did the garrison yield. Cuauhtemoc and his family took to the lake in a canoe, as did many others. He was picked up by one of the Spanish galleys and brought before Cortes, where his dignity and chiefly demeanor received the respectful attention of the Spanish general staff. The request for treasure brought the answer that there was none: it lay under the lake with the Spaniards who were slain the preceding winter in their disastrous flight from the city. Cuauhtemoc then underwent

[Text continues on p. 264.--- Analyst]

175
● 532
212



FIGS. 28A-28B. The story of the Conquest of Mexico in native characters. In the cartouches are to be seen the symbols One Reed and Two Knife, the Aztec names for the years 1519 and 1520. Under One Reed is a Spaniard from whose horse's foot depends the shield, club and arrows symbolic of war. At the right the bearded Cortes

175
532
212



sits in the temple of Tenochtitlan, represented by the cactus. An Indian with the glyph of Montezuma offers a tribute of gold beads. Under Two Knife we find Alvarado massacring the Indians at the great temple and at upper right a comet in the sky. *Codex Vaticanus A*

[Fig. 28 B]

776
●532



1—Uxtepecatl.

2—Palm.

3—Tzatzitron.

4—Tzatz.

—After Piss y Pissos.



1—Quetzalcoatl. 2—Chimamtl. 3—Chimamtl. 4—Totem imman.

—After Paso y Troncoso

776
532



9—Taspoian tenao.

10—Cicapijiti.

11—Chahhinkiti yem.

12—Thacotenti.
—After Paz y Tzucro's

776
● 532



13—Xichtacotli.

14—Macuilxochitl or Xochipilli.

15—Omaratl.

16—Ixtilhuan.
—After Paso y Troncoso

776
532



17—Opochtli. 18—Xipe tototl. 19—Yncantotli. 20—Haga tototli.

—After Fane y Fournier



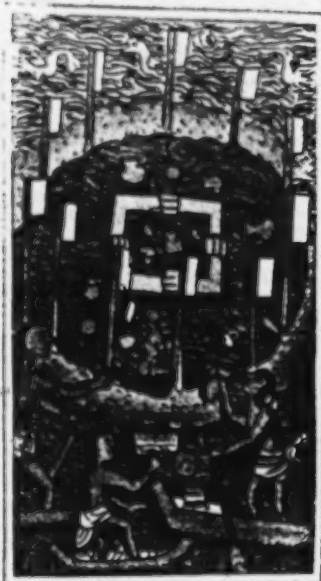
776
 532



[782]

—After Paso y Troncoso

31—Tlalocatl. 32—Tlalocatl.
 33—Chalchihuitl puma (Chap. 11). 34—Tlaloc (Temple of Tlaloc) (Chap. 11).



776
 532

[782]



[796
 467]

[782
 755]

—After Paz y Troncoso
 29—Tzapotlan teotl (Chap. 9). Chalkchitl yotl (Chap. 11). Chitlome outl (Chap. 7). 30—Tzapotlan—Confu-
 dor (Chap. 12). 31—Maztlan teotl (Chap. 10). 32—Tzapotlan (Chap. 11). 33—Pantitlan (Tzapotlan)
 (Chap. 11). 34—Appendix, Chap. 12. 35—Appendix, Chap. 13.

776
532



[782]





Twenty-second Chapter, in which are described the celebration and blood sacrifices which they made in the second month, known as and called Tlacaxipeualiztli.¹

And this was when the rattle boards were sown² there at the Temple of Yopitli. And they, the old men belonging to the Temple of Yopitli,³ sat singing and rattling their rattle boards until the day was done. Thus they came to spend the day, to celebrate the feast all day, coming to pass the day. Thus the whole day passed.

And [because] flowers were offered, [the feast] was called "The Offering of Flowers"; for all the various flowers which had newly blossomed were first [fruits]. It was the first flowers to appear which were thus given as offerings. None might breathe the scent without first providing an offering. They made or laid offerings of whatever little flowers they saw, which spread out bursting, popping, rustling into bloom—the flowers of spring. Small, little, tiny ones; little stone [flowers], however few, small, and tiny; little wooden ones, they carved and bound together.

And in order to gather the flowers, they all went together to the fields, since some who worked in the fields came there to sell them.

And when this was done, they ate *samales* made of wild amaranth seed.⁴

Especially the Coateca, they who belonged to the district of Coatlan, esteemed [these *samales*]. They offered them to their god[des], called Coatl icue or Coatlan tonan.

[For] they placed trust in her; she was their confidante; they depended upon her; she was their support. To her they lifted their voices.

And also at that time were hidden away the human skins⁵—placed aside, abandoned. There at the Temple of Yopitli they were all buried.

Jñic tempoali onume capitulo, yncá moteneoa yn ilhuil, ycan in nextlacalitzli in quichioaia in ipan ic vme metztli: in mitoaia, in moteneoaia, Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Auh in iquac y, aiaacachpixolo vmpa iopico: auh ça ichoanti, in calpulueuetque, vmpa pouhque iopico. cujcatouque, aiaacachotouque, yc ouetzi cemilhujil, tlacemilhuitiloque, ic tlalhujquixitouque, ic tlalhujnextitouque, tlalhujcuiltouque, ihujcuroque, ic ueuetzi cemilhujil:

yoá xochimanalo ynic mjtos xochimanalo, ca in ixquich nepapan xochid, in iancujcan cueponi, yiacatiuitz: yn iiaac vitz xochitl ic tlanamalo, aiaac achto quinecu, inlacamo achto ic tlanamaz, qujuenchioaz, qujuémanaz, in çaço tlein xochitotéi quittaia, cuecucpontonoc, cuecucpocatoc, tlatlatzcatoc, in tonalxuchid, hacqui, aqujtoton, hacqujpipil, hacqujtoton, çan quecizqui, çan quecizqujtoton, çan quecizqujpipil, çan quecizqujquauhtoton qujuçujtaltia, qujilpia.

Auh yñic xuchitetemoia, qujuçpanocujtvi in milli, tel cequj qujoalnamacaia, in millaca:

auh yn iquac y, qujçuaia tatzapaltamalli:

oc cenca ichoanti qujmauiztiliaia in coateca, in coatlan calpulli itech pouja: qujtlamanjlia yn iteouch, ioca coatl yeue, coatlan tonan:

yn itech tlaquauhtlamati, yn jñnetemachil, yn itech moquauhtia, yn inquauhuo, yn itech motatzilia.

Auh çan no iquac coatlatilo, onmotlatia, onmocacaa, yn jmenao tlaça, vmpa iopico onactiuj:

1. The corresponding Spanish text specifies: "... que hacen en el postrero día del segundo mes, que se llama tlacaxipeualiztli."

In Chapter 3, this month is correctly named Tlapimazli.

2. Juan Nuñez de la Hoz: *Relación de las cosas de la Nueva España* (Cortés: "Relación breve," p. 294). Bde (sp. cit., p. 77) has, for this chapter, "hacer en el postrero día del mes."

3. "Los señores de aquel barrio," according to Sahagún's Spanish text.

4. Cf. Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España*, p. 82, n. 3: *manapamalli*—"Para dar por manapamalli, de manapali, que es la hierba que se come, y es la semilla, que se suda."

5. *Relación*: *Índice* (sp. cit., p. 78) uses the term *corpales*; Cortés (sp. cit., p. 295) has, for this chapter, *huesos de hombre*, "y se hacen, se comen las pieles"; the corresponding Spanish of Sahagún reads: "se comen en algunas cosas."

x 796 us men, they were vain, they were only weak words.
702 For in truth thus the women could torment [young men] into war; thus they moved and provoked them; thus the women prodded them into battle.

For we men said:

"Bloody, painful are the words of the women; bloody, heart-rending are the words of the women. Let us be on our way; let us offer ourselves as warriors. Friends, perchance we may attain reward."

x 796 And when [the young girls] went carrying upon
[346] their backs the maize god[esses], as they took them to Chicome coatl's temple, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became the granary's heart; in the maize-bin they laid them.

And when seed was sown, when it was the time for planting, this they sowed, [which] they had made into seed. They made seed maize of it.

And they made and insisted this feast for Chicome coatl.

● [533] They formed her image like a woman. They said: "Yea, verily, this one is our sustenance"; that is to say, she is truly our flesh, our livelihood; through her we live and are strong. If she [were] not, we should die of hunger.

For he who eateth no *tortillas*, he then fainteth; he falleth down; he droppeth quickly; there is a twining as of birds in his ears: darkness descendeth upon him.

x 796 And it is said, it is this Chicome coatl who maketh all our food—

824 white maize; yellow maize; green maize shoots;¹²
243 black maize.¹³ black and brown mixed, and variously hued;¹⁴ large and wide; round and ball-like; slender maize; thin, long maize; speckled red and white maize.¹⁵ which hath blood-red lines and is [as if] painted with blood,

then, the coarse, brown maize,¹⁶ which is as if tawny in appearance; popcorn;¹⁷ the after-fruit;¹⁸ double ears; rough ears; and maturing green maize;

toquichiti, ca çanenpanca, ca çà in toneucatlato: ca uel ic quimontzintopexia in cioa iac, ic teioh-neco, ic teioleca, ic teioello tucujnia in cioa, in iac.

Ca qujtna, in toquichiti
epo tecoco, yn juitlatl cioa, epo teitit acic in cioa-tlatolli, ca otiaque, çà otiquaque, yn abtinemizque: aço itla tomacoeal tocnjutzte.

Auh in qujmanauin in ciciteteuh, yn açuqtiqua iteupan chicome coatl, tlatolotl muchioa: incuezco-maiollo muchioa, cuezco-mac contema.

Auh yn iquac totoco, in ic toquizpà, iehoatl quj-tocaa qujxinachioaa, qujxinachioa.

Auh injn qujluhtlatia, qujluhtchiuhtia in chicome coatl:

iuhqujn cioatl qujtlatiaa isipela. Qujtoaa, ca uel iehoatl in tonacauitl: iuhqujma qujtoznequi, ca nel tonacaa, tonemca, ic tiolintemj, tocapoaca: intlacamo iehoatl, ca tapizimiquizque.

Ca yn aquin, atle qujqua tlaxcalli, cà njman çotlaoa, vetzi, meciuhitvetzi, ynacaz, yicaoca, tlatolli ipà momana:

yoan mjroa, ca in iehoatl chicome coatl, ca quj-chioa yn isquich tonacauitl:

in iztac tlatolli, in coztic tlatolli, in xiuhtectli, yia-ujd, yiauhnenel, iauhacalquj, tlatpatlachtl, in toto-iontic in tlatpiciilli, tlatpizaoac: in xochicintli, ynjn iuhqujn cuezcoanquj, açuqujltic:

njman iec in quappachcintli: iuhqujn quappachtli, itlachiciz, momochicintli, in molqujtl, cinmailt, cinztatzapalli: yoan in xilotl, in cacamatl, in elotl:

12. A gloss in the Aztec text of Lib. XI, cap. xiii, of the *Florentine Codex* defines *nimicmli* as "Paz de mayo: muchos verdos, paxpas y maiz-avies."

13. "Espices de maye negro" (Iber. cat.), Molina (op. cit.) says "maye negro es negro."

14. Sahagun (Iber. cat.) defines *nimicmli* as "Espices de maye par diverses couleurs."

15. No gloss appears in Iber. cat. The Nahuatl text reads: "muchos colores: azules, verdes, amarillos, blancos, rojos, negros, etc." (Iber. cat.).

16. Iber. cat. has "Espices de maye leonado." In the *Relaciones* edition, Vol. III, p. 182, there is reference to "cienos mancevas de maiz que sacro ancho y yepocada, e leonado, que en la lengua es llamado tucupalli pichicintli, quappachicintli." A gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (Iber. cat.) says, however, that *tucupalli* are "Espices de maye que sacro de dos en dos." In Molina (op. cit.) *quappachicintli* is given as *cruzo* or *violet*. Molina (op. cit.) has "color leonado, o medio morado." For *quappachicintli*, Molina has "maiz gros et lene, qui servoit à peindre les peintures peccantes de la lencura de ce (color)."

17. Durán (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 99) defines *momochicintli* as "maiz cocido y refinado," and in Lib. II, p. 37 of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, Sahagun writes that it is "maiz cocido . . . que cada grano es como una flor blanquecina."

18. *Arbre de maiz* (Molina, op. cit.).

the small ears of maize beside the main ear;¹⁹ the ripened green maize.²⁰

Then the beans—white beans, yellow beans, red beans, quail-colored beans;²¹ black beans; flesh-colored beans;²² fat, red beans; wild beans;²³ amaranth; the variety of amaranth call cocot;²⁴ fine, red amaranth seed;²⁵ (common) red amaranth;²⁶ black amaranth; bright red or chili-red amaranth;²⁷ fish-amaranth (*muchianautli* or *chicalot*);²⁸ brilliant black amaranth seed;²⁹ the bird-stood called *petzicat*;³⁰

also *chia*—white *chia*, black *chia*, and wrinkled *chia*.

All these things, thus mentioned, all these they offered to [the goddess]. When her feast day was celebrated, they formed her image, and laid all before her; the old men of the tribal temple sang for her; they beheaded quail for her.

And her adornment [was thus]: she was anointed all in red—completely red on her arms, her legs, her face. All her paper crown was covered completely with red ochre; her embroidered shirt also was red; her skirt was the color of ripe fruit. She had a chief's shield, painted with designs and embellished in red. She carried in either hand her double ear of maize.

Thus ended the festival of Uei toçotli, and thus ended and passed the vigil songs. And then the winding dance, the dance with song, began. This ended at the time of [the feast of] Toxcatl.

njman ichoatl in etl, yn iztac etl, ecoztli, echichilli, coletl, tilietl, aqujletl, aircotli, quavexoc, ozubtli, cocotli, tlalpalhosuhtli, xochioauhtli, tilioauhtli, teucotli, anoço chichiloauhtli, mjchiosuhtli, chicalotl, teczacoauhtli, petzicatli:

no yoañ in chien, iztac chien, tlilitic chien, chian-izotzotl.

In izquich y, iuh quitoa, ca mox ichoatl, quitmaca: in iquac ilhujuh, qujtlacatilia, muchi ixpan qujmanaia, qujucjcatia: in vuetque, calpuleque: qujtlacoronjlia.

Auh yn jnechichioal motloaçaia, muchi tlauhio, centlauhio, yn jmac, yn icxix, yn jaco: muchi tlacem-aqujlli, tlauij yn jamacal yn ivipil tlamachio, no tlauhio, yn icse cacamolihujui, tlatolchimalli cuj-kolli, tlauhpoiaoc, ycinma nenecocampa qujtquj-tica.

ic ontlamj, in vey toçotzli: yoañ ic vntlamj ic qujça, in toçocujcatl. Auh iquac vmpoa in neco-cololo, cujcoanololo: vmpa vntlamj, yn ipan toxcatl.

19. Glus in the *Flowerman's Calendar* (Ist. cit.): "Manzanillas de campo que son hijas de las mananitas." Sison (op. cit.) has "pauit lapi de mudi que pousse à côté de l'api principal."

20. Ornes y Barron, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 314, lists as follows: "[Male] De nacido hasta que está en puro verde, se dice . . . Xilot, ilon, le mananitas de verde tiernas y por crecer. Elot, chon, le mananitas tiernas cuando son las grana crasiales. . . . Crotli, chitli, el mudo seco es mananitas ya desmenuzadas, tlauij, tlauij, tlauij. . . . Otli, chon, el curado de la mananitas. Elotitl, chonmanchitl—las hojas que le crecen." 21. In Ist. cit., Sahagún has "Frijoles verdes de color de colorado." See also Bahrstedt ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 363.

22. Glus in *Flowerman's Calendar*, Ist. cit.: "Frijoles de color colorado."

23. Cf. Bahrstedt ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 232: "Hay una rala que se llama cianol; la hierba de esta rala siempre queman; y mandila clama. Esta hierba hace unas hojas que son como frijoles grandes, y son frijoles alvares."

24. "Frijoles blancos que son como corazon o corindos de Espada"—glus, *Flowerman's Calendar*, Ist. cit.

25. "Frijoles mananitas blancos colorados finos" (Ist. cit.) Chitli (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 61) has *Pandanus* (mudli) *Pandanus alvares* L. Var.

26. "Frijoles mananitas blancos colorados" (*Flowerman's Calendar*, Ist. cit.).

27. Same as our next—"Frijoles mananitas de color rojo colorados y muy finos" (Ist. cit.).

28. "Blindos o semillas de color rojo de pinto: como un chicalot"—muchianautli: como como chicalot (Ist. cit.).

29. "Frijoles blancos como semillas de muy negro" (Ist. cit.). 30. "Frijoles como semillas como las gallinas [de]" (Ist. cit.).

epochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *magrey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *amercuad*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaguanquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,¹³ a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopochtli: vncan in vitznaoac, teucalco, ytalpulco: enatlapechoo contlalia:

ynjn coatlapochtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecan:

mjchiaohtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmixujo, ca mizquiquaujtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa catca, yn oqujpepechoque:

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jilatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynjc tlacujloli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitacatzilma: iuhqujn cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujica tlachioalli, motocaioia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tepatl, can no hiujtl ic tlachioalli eztlapanquj:

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçodlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynjc tlachiuhtli, ynjc tlaiechcioalli, ynjc tlacujloli, ynjc tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, can moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchiaohtzoalli, mjmitic, motocaioiaia teumjijlli: qujitema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatl ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco couhtoca, tlacujloli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quetzepolli, omjicujilli, tlanitzli, matzozopatzli, xocpalli, ynjc tlacujloli catca.

Auh ynjn tilmatl, motocaioiaia tlacoaqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ixpan conteca in teumjijlli itoca, iuh mjioa ymactli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynjc tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoc cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc qujnpalaoa: can ic muchioaia injc qujnpalozque, ynjc monapalez ymactli:

excan in tlapotonjilli catca, iztac totolujitca, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vecan ytlaxichocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jmanazocan:

13. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 esp. In the *Rebento* edition of Sahagun, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Felix de la Cruz questions the "la materia mencionada por la capa de libro de algunos dibujos de papeles finos. Servia de papel para las pinturas o los libros, y de tela para hacer las alforras, mantas y otros objetos que al culto de los dioses requeria."

delos cantares



delos dioses. fo. 143. 532

Cochina, cochina, xochitl xochitl
oblonjani, iechiaati mochinay
ico. oais ylio. yia yia. 415
534
292

q Xippe icujc, totoc ionalla
vina.

Isalli havana, ixticani, minone
nequia xiaqui mpleta tenaj
haquani. ximoquenti quetoria

Notuhex chalcimmana tlaxa
pna itmoia, oique hallaveret,
ay que hal xiajicatl nech laiquia
cauhqued orja.

Manjaria, nja, nja pelvis
mivaatzim. achalimuhka roillo
aieucujtatl neociaitlas neiolec
vizquithacatl achtoqueti haqua
vata otiauatquj iauhataa quet
orja.

Notuhex cothao xiauliviz co
noa vicoatzim niekepeioepa nips
valitla moteuhex, vizquinta
catl achtoqueti haquaetia cha
caiquj iauhataa quet orja.

q Chicomecatl icujc.

Chiamablsim. xiaa mecha.

X796
 532
 714
 411
 292



—After Paso y Troncoso

1-7. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 21)

[p. 102 D]

796^x

532

[346]

[415]

—After Paso y Troncoso

8-12. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 22)
 13-14. Uei tōcōztli (Chapter 23)

[p. 102 E]

796
532
292



— After Paso y Troncoso

15.21. Toncatl (Chapter 24)

[p. 102 F]



796^x
532
292
[501]

—After Pato y Troncos

- 22-23. Etzqualiztli (Chapter 23)
24-25. Tecuilhuitonli (Chapter 26)
26-28. Uei ueruilhuid (Chapter 27)
29. Tlaxochimaco (Chapter 28)

1796
532
291



—After Fano y Trencoso

30. Ochpaniztli (Chapter 30)
31-32. Panquetzaliztli (Chapter 34)
33. Tlail (Chapter 36)
34. Tzicalli (Chapter 37)
35-36. Tzicauhqui (Chapter 38)



796¹
532
291
292

[415]

7796
532
2A1

[415]

[854]



[411]



...After Pains & Tristesse

45.40. Ixcocauhqui (Chapter 38)

50. Macuilcalli (Appendix)

51. Calpulli (Appendix)

[p. 102 J]



796^x
532
[41]

Uter, Peter & Linares

- 52. Tlamiculiztli (Appendix)
- 53. Tlachpanaliztli (Appendix)
- 54. Tlousuanaliztli (Appendix)
- 55. Çacapan nemanaliztli (Appendix)
- 56. Neçacapechtemaliztli (Appendix)
- 57. Tlatica tlauiliztli (Appendix)
- 58. Mexicatl teuhotzin (Appendix)

x 796
● 532



— Hier. Paso y Troncoso

59. Tepan teuhnotzin (Appendix)
60. Tenamacalixtli (Appendix)
61. Iouallapialixtli (Appendix)
62-63. Song of Xipe (Appendix)
64. Song of Chicome coatl (Appendix)
65. Song of the Totochtlin (Appendix)
66. Song of Atlaua (Appendix)

[P. 102 L]

The Iztac Cihuatl Cihuaquacuilli.

773 The Iztac cihuatl cihuaquacuilli also kept watch there and took care of the [Temple of] Atenchicalcan; and she was in charge of the sweeping and the laying of fires [there]. And any who made supplications [to the goddess] spoke to the Iztac cihuatl cihuaquacuilli. This one determined all that was done here at [the Temple of] Atenchicalcan.

Cihuaquacuilli iztac cihuatl.

In cihuaquacuilli iztac cihuatl că no vmpa tlapiasia, vmpa tlamocujtlavjaia in atenchicalcan yoan ipan tlatoavia in tlachpanaliztli in tletlaliliztli, yoan in aqujn vmpa monetoltiaia, ichoatl conilhujiaia in cihuaquacuilli iztac cihuatl, muchi ichoatl quitzontequja in tlein vncan muchivaia stenchicalcā.

The Keeper of the God Ixcoauhqui, at Tzomolco.

The duties of the Keeper of the God Ixcoauhqui, at Tzomolco, [concerned] the wood of the god Xiuhtecuitli. He caused it to be cried abroad that it be gathered in the forests. And those who gathered it were only those youths whose right it was [to gather it]. And when they had gathered the wood of the god Xiuhtecuitli, they piled it up in the priests' dwelling at Tzomolco.

Ixcoauhqui tzōmvlco teuhoa.

In ixcoauhqui tzōmvlco teuhoa itequjuh catca, in xjuhitecuavviti, qujtzatziliaia injc mocujtiuh quavvitha, auh in concuja can ichoantin in telpuchtin itequjuh catca, auh in oqujcujto xiuhtequavviti, vmpa conquetziaia in tzōmvlco calmecac.

Tlaolquacuilli.

[514
698] The Tlaolquacuilli was charged that he should guard and take care of [the Temple of] Mecatlan. And he put on his sleeveless jacket, and he had his gourd for tobacco. Much did he venerate the Temple here at Mecatlan. None might urinate here; and if anyone did urinate here, then they seized him and brought him within. There they punished him and drew blood from him.

.Tlaolquacuilli.

In tlaolquacuilli, itequjuh catca, vncan tlapiasia, vncan tlamocujtlavjaia in mecatlan, auh in qujmaqujaia, ixicol yietecōton itinemi, cenca tlamavizotiaia in teupan, in vncan mecatlā, aia vncan maxixiaia, auh in aqujn vncan omavix, njman qujtzitzqujaia, qujcalaqujaia caliti, vmpa quitlatzajutiaia qujxogoa.

The Keeper of the God at Tepantzinco.

The Keeper of the God at Tepantzinco guarded and cared for [the Temple of] Tepantzinco. And his task was to have charge of the offerings. He caused it to be cried abroad that offerings be made here at [the Temple of] Tepantzinco.

Tepantzinco teuhoa.

In tepantzinco teuhoa, vncā tlapiasia, tlamocujtlavjaia in tepātzinco, yoan itequjuh catca ipan tlatoavia in ventli qujtzatzilitiaia injc tlamanaloz vncan tepātzinco.

Epcosquacuilli Tepictōton.

773 532 The Epcosquacuilli tepictōton was concerned with the songs. When anyone molded figures [of the mountain gods], he consulted with him that he

Epcosquacuilli tepictōtō.

In Epcosquacuilli tepictōton ipā tlatoavia in cuicatl, iquac in aqujn tepiquiz ichoatl ichoatl conilhujiaia in qujnnquetzaz, qujnnnavatiz in cujcanjme,

might provide the singers and make them sound well, when they went to sing in the home of him who molded figures [of the mountain gods]. Verily, this one; the Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton, passed judgment upon [the songs].

injc qujcacivi in jchan in aqujn tepiquiz, vel iehoatl qujtzontequja in Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton.

793
[532] ●

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton.

Ixtlilco teuhoa.

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton was upon [the pyramid], and his charge was that he caused it to be cried abroad that offerings [should be made]. When the little children, whether men[-children] or women[-children, first] began to talk, they went carrying their offerings of *copal* [incense], or flowers, or whatever sorts of gifts were made. Each of [these] things they bore with them.

In ixtlilco teuhoa ipan jcaca, ipan tlatovaia, qujtzatziliaia in venti injc motenzmamalia pipiltzitzinti in in aco oqujchjin, in anoço ciboa qujtziquivi in javen in copalli, in anoço suchitl in ie isqujch venti muchivaia cecentlamantli in qujtzuja.

[203]

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli at Aticpac.

Aticpac teuhotzin xochipilli.

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli, at [the Temple of] Aticpac, had encharged to him [her who was arrayed in the likeness of the Goddess] Aticpac calqui ciuatl, [and that] they should collect the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber which Aticpac calqui ciuatl needed when she died. And they flayed her, and the fire-priest put on her skin and went forth holding a [live] quail in his teeth, which went dangling from his mouth.

In aticpac teuhotzin xochipilli ipā tlatovaia, in aticpac calqui cihoad qujnechicovaia in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, in jtech monequja aticpac calqui cihoad in iquac miquja, suh qujxipehoia in jiehaoia cōmaqujaia tlenamacac, yoa qujtlancuatiya çolin icamac pilcstiah.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli, at Atlixeliuhqui.

Atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtlī.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli at Atlixeliuhqui was charged with collecting the adornment, the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, the sweet-smelling herbs, the chalk, the black stain, and the heron feather headdress and the tousled hair which [he who was arrayed like] Opochtli would need when he died upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

In atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtlī, ipan tlatovaia, qujnechicovaia in inechichival, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoa in poçolcactli, in xicolli, in tztzaili, in jiauhli, in tçatl, in jaiapalli, yoa aztatzōdi, papatli, in jtech monequja obuchtlī in iquac miquja ipan tepeilhujl.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico.

Xippe iopico teuhoa.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico, took care, when that one [arrayed in the likeness of the god Tequitziā] died, of the paper, the *copal* [incense],

In xippe iopico teuhoa qujmocujtlavjaia, in ipan miquja in iehoatl requjtzin, in amatl, in copalli, yoa in poçolcactli, in tlahujl, suh injc moporenjaia ie-



773
539
796
532.



—After Fols y Troncoso

1. Birth of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
2. Defeat of the Centzonuitznaua (Chapter I)
3. Uitzilopochtli worshiped (Chapter I)
4. Ceremonial sprinkling of impersonator of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
5. Washing after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)
6. Feasting after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)

[P. 36(C)]

539

796

532

782



—After Palo y Troncoso

7. Praying to Tetzcatlipoca (Chapter II)
8. Fir branches on a roadside shrine (Chapter II)
9. Quetzalcoatl performing a penance (Chapter III)
10. Quetzalcoatl bathing at midnight (Chapter III)
11. The old man offering the potion to Quetzalcoatl (Chapter IV)
12. Dragging the body of the sorcerer (Chapter IX)

[P. 36 (D)]

539
532
764

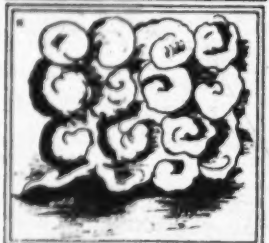
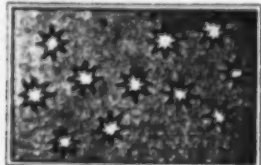
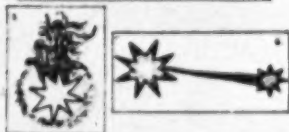
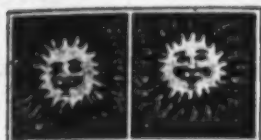


—After Paso y Troncoso

13. Roasting maize attracting the Toltecs (Chapter XI)
14. Quetzalcoatl in a drunken sleep (Chapter XIII)
15. Preparation of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
16. Burning of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
17. Conference with masters of the youths, upon birth of a child (Appendix, Chapter IV)
18. Taking children to the young men's house (Appendix, Chapter V)
19. Tending fires in the song house (Appendix, Chapter V)

[P. 36(E)]

821
532



—After Paso y Troncoso

1. Sun
2. Moon
3. The rabbit in the moon
4. Eclipse of the moon
5. Comet
6. Comet's tail

7. Stars
8. The Winds
- 9-10. Lightning
11. Clouds
12. Rainbow

[p. 35 (6)]

821
 532
 372
 796
 782



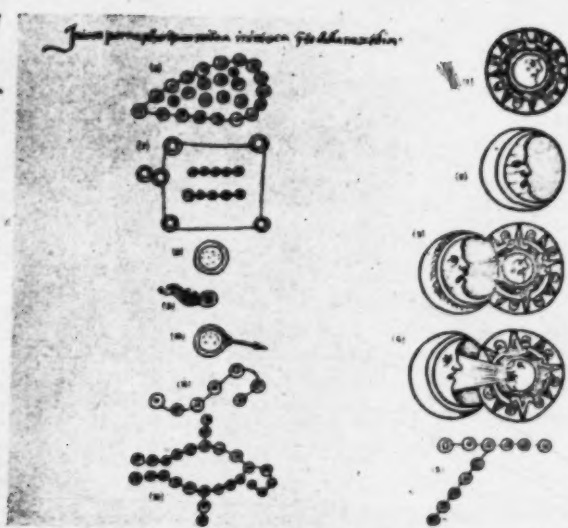
—After Paso y Troncoso

13. Ice, snow, and hail
14. Storing food against famine
15. Delivering children into bondage
16. Boring new fire of the breast of a sacrificial victim

17. New fire in the temples
18. New fire taken to homes
19. Breaking and throwing away household goods at the end of the fifty-two-year cycle

[p. 38 (E)]

821
532



—After Pico y Troncoso

21. Sun, moon, and stars, and other natural phenomena, from *Primeras Memorias*, Cap. 2.

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Sun | 6. Fire drill |
| 2. Moon | 7. Venus |
| 3. Eclipse of sun | 8-9. Comet |
| 4. Eclipse of moon | 10. Comet's tail |
| 5. Fire drill | 11. S-shaped stars |
| | 12. Scorpion |

[p. 38 (H)]

805
821
532



—After Polo y Tlacuacan

22. Natural Phenomena and year signs, from *Primeros Memoriales*, cap. 2

- 13. Wind
- 14. Lightning bolt
- 15. Rain
- 16. Rainbow

- 17. Frost
- 18. Cloud
- 19. Snow
- 20. Hail

Year signs, beginning at top
One Rabbit
Two Hand
Three Flint Knife
Four House

[p. 38(I)]



643 Ninth Chapter, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.

301 The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather¹ tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill² feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

A golden arm band;³

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga⁴ feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

[317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

301 A gold lip pendant;

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;⁵

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;⁶

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

A gold lip pendant in the form of a boating pole;

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;⁷

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

Inje chichimmo] capirulo vican moteneoa injin ne-chichioia in tlatoque in jcoac macroaia.

Quetzallalpüonj, cortic teocujtlaio injc quijpiaia, intzon

quetzalpatzactli, cortic teocujtlaio in qujmama

tlauquetzoltzontli tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icucue-tlacaciao, iujcal ueuetl cortic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztl in qujmama mijotia

teocujtlanatemecat, cortic teocujtlanacochitli cortic in caquja

matzopetztl in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl olotluh-quj, anogo vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujlaia ujezloxitica injc tlachiuhitli injc tlapezoll

chalchiuhntentel cortic teocujtlatica callo, iztac tepacatl, xiuhmotica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, cortic teocujtlatl in jcallo.

Cortic tepacatl, in apoçonalli teocujtlatica tlacalotilli, chalchiuhtepacanecujlli, cortic teocujtlatl ic tlazincalotilli,

teucujtlatempilolli cortic atototempilolli cortic teucujtlatl, quauhtempilolli cortic teucujtlatl, xiuhcoatempilolli cortic teucujtlatl, aujctempilolli cortic teucujtlatl, temalcacatentel teuxiujtl cortic teucujtlatl icallo,

chalchiuhntencolli, cortic teucujtlatl icallo, chalchiuhquauhtentel, cortic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Clark, op. cit., II, p. 112, identifies *quetzalotl* as *Pharomachrus muticus muticus*.

2. *Platanus ajaja* L. (Soler, op. cit., p. 124).

3. One such is described more fully in Andeana and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 67.

4. Clark, op. cit., p. 134, identifies blue cotingas as *Cotinga amabilis*.

5. Cf. Soler, op. cit., p. 182.

6. *Quauhtemotl*: quauht could mean warrior; elsewhere we always give preference to the meaning eagle.

7. After this phrase, the Real Academia de la Historia M2 has *chalchiuhntencolli* *cortic* *temalcacatl* *teuxiujtl*—a large, disc-like lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

643

301

[533]

A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leaved water plant;

A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold;

A green stone nose rod;

A fine turquoise nose rod;

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together;

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;^a

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold;

A golden band for the calf of the leg;

A quetzal feather banner held in the hand;

A quetzal bird as headdress;

Quetzal feather horns;

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold;

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension;

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells;

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells;

Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans^b when the ruler danced.

Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals.

[There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells;

Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant.

415

[There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent.

351

There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance.

415

314

534

[There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded.

apatlactempiloli, cortic teucujtlatl,

metzttempiloli cortic teucujtlatl,

chalchiuhacanjtl,

teuxiahacanjtl,

chalchiuhcoacatl oolihuhqui, tlacnquixtilli, tlac-

oatl,

cortic teucujtlachaisoc coacatl, chalchiuhlacana-

oalli itic manj,

quetzalmachoncoatl tlaçotlanqui nepapan tlaçoiuj-

tica, ioan cortic teucujtlaio,

cortic teucujtlacotzeatl,

quetzalmacpanjtl,

quetzaltotoicpacxuchitl,

quetzalquaquajtl,

quetzalecacozatl cortic teucujtlaio

xuhmacopilli,

cortic teucujtlachipulcoacatl,

teucujtlacortic acuechcozatl,

xuchitl, ietl, inescujtl tlatoanj, teacatl injc motla

tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isquich imaçeoia tlatoanj,

oçeloeoacatl, cuetlascacatl tlamachio, tlamachac-

tl,

teponaztl, teponastzatzatl, veuetl aiacachtli cor-

tic teucujtlatl, tezilacatl cortic teucujtlatl,

cujcanjme, mjitotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj,

tlatzotzonqui, cujcaitoanj,

tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in isquich omjto. Veuej toptanatl, in vncan mopia, in chal-

chiuhstentel, in teucujtlanaochtli, in teucujtlacoz-

catl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlacaçoatl cortic teu-

cujtlatl,

xuchiquajtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inesc-

catca: ca maçoaz in tlatoanj,

tezcatanatl, tziquaoazzanatl, olmailt injc moczo-

tzona teponaztl.

a. Cf. Scher, *Compendio Alameda*, II, p. 542; also corresponding Spanish text.
b. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, pp. 1998, on etymology of *amanteca*.

175
532
643
292



—After Pan y Troncoso

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Uitzilimilt. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tlacae. 8. Auhtotel. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Quauhtemoctli. 13. Don Andrés Montezumli. 14. Don Pablo Xuchiquen. 15. Don Diego Uanilt. 16. Don Diego Teuctzquilt. 17. Don Cristóbal Cecepanic. (Chapter 1.)

10, 11. Omen observed in Tenochtitlan. (Chapter 1.)

Rulers of Tlanchitlan. 18. Quaquapitzauac. 19. Tlacateotl. 20. Quauhtemoctli. 21. Miquiuxitli. 22. Don Pablo Temilo. 23. Don Martín Ecail. 24. Don Juan Auelmoctli. 25. Don Martín Tlacateotl. 26. Don Diego Uitzauahuitloctli. 27. Don Alonso Quauhtemoctli. (Chapter 2.)

[p. 36(c)]

GH3
175
532
292
[78]



[67]



—After Paso y Troncoso

Rulers of Texcoco. 28. Tlaltcatlan. 29. Techotlalatzin. 30. Itzilschitl. 31. Nequancosyotzin. 32. Nequapilli. 33. Cacamatzin. 34. Coanacochtzin. 35. Texcogtzin. 36. Itzilschitl. 37. Yoyotzin. 38. Teitlacotzin. 39. Don Antonio Tlaltcatlan. 40. Don Hernando Ponce de León. (Chapter 3.)

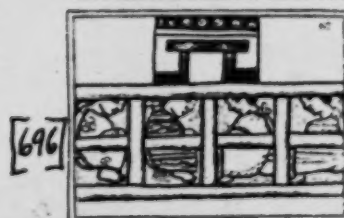
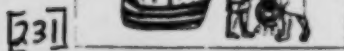
33. Omens observed in Texcoco (Chapter 3).

Rulers of Uexala. 42. Maqatzin tecuifi. 43. Tychon tecuifi. 44. Ayotzin tecuifi. 45. Quatlauca tecuifi. 46. Tzapotzotzin. 47. Loxozin tecuifi. 48. Xibatzin tecuifi. 49. Itzacatzin. 50. Tlacolozotzin. 51. Tzotzotzin. 52. Cuicatzotzin. 53. Tzapotzotzin. 54. Cuicatzotzin. (Chapter 4.)

55. Tollan (Chapter 5).

Omens observed in Tenochtitlan. 56. Burning temple. 57. Comet. 58. Foundation. 59. Cuicatzotzin weeping. 60. Bird with mirror on its head. (Chapter 6.)

[p. 36(E)]
[p. 36(D) is blank]



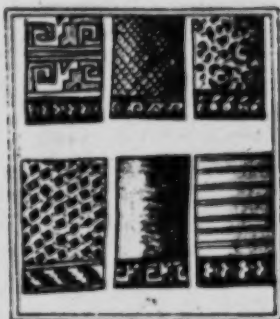
—After Paso y Troncoso

Omras (continued). 61. Two-headed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of patolli (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the sides of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgement and punishment of malefactors—Tlacaxtlan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhcalco (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tezcuicalli (Chapter 14). 69. Mexicans (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(G)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]



532

[291
302][43
714][283
286][701
714
793
411]

[723]

—After Pan y Troncos

72-74. Women's array—*aspell*, *cuxil* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

● 532

[714
726
411]

[727
702]

[693]

[726
714
411]

[693]

[695]



—Illegible text—

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Judges (Chapter 17). 85. A trial (Chapter 17).

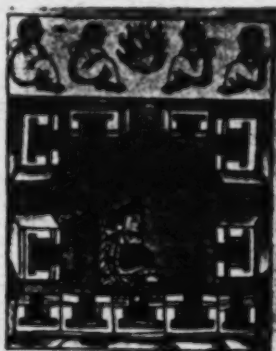
[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

532

[687]

[625]



[689]

[526]



[533]

[534]



[735]



[482]



—After Pop y Teyacno

86. Punishment of an angry official (Chapter 17). 87. Punishment of a complex musician (Chapter 17).
88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17). 91. The game stacks (Chapter 17).
92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(M)]

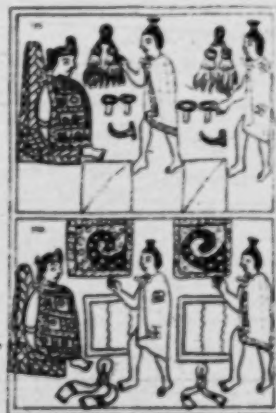
4 [This caption is in
error, -Amlyst]

[p. 36(L) is blank]

532
[796
643]



[366
262
415]



[643
701
431]



—After Paso y Troncoso

93, 94, Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 19). 95, 96, Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100, Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(0)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

532



532
787



—After Paso y Troncoso

1. Landing of the Spaniards (preceding text). 2. Spanish marching (preceding text). 3. Spaniards surrounding a temple in Mexico (Chapter 1). 4. First cause: the temple of fire (Chapter 1). 5. Second cause: burning of Temple of Xiclotl (Chapter 1). 6. Third cause: burning of Temple of Xiclotl (Chapter 1). 7. Fourth cause: cause in three parts (Chapter 1).

[p. 44(c)]

532
648
[787]



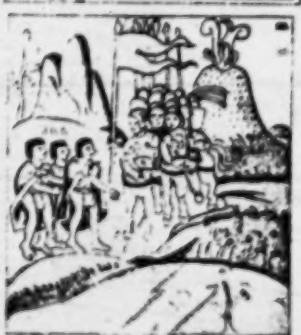
—After Paso y Troncoso

8. Sixth canoe: the weeping woman (Chapter 1). 9. Seventh canoe: the alien bird with a mirror (Chapter 1). 10. Eighth canoe: two-headed men (Chapter 1). 11. Spaniards present Spaniards' gift to Motecuzoma (Chapter 2). 12. Motecuzoma's messengers present gifts to Cortés (Chapter 5). 13. Spaniards bind Motecuzoma's messengers (Chapter 5). 14. Spaniards fire guns and terrify the messengers (Chapter 5). 15. Spaniards give food to Motecuzoma's messengers (Chapter 5). 16. Motecuzoma's messengers return to the mainland (Chapter 6). 17. Captives are slain before Motecuzoma's messengers (Chapter 6). 18. Spaniards in war array (Chapter 7). 19. Motecuzoma hears description of the Spaniards (Chapter 7).

[p. 44(D)]

532
648
291

[43]



—Hjer Paso y Troncoso

20. Moctezuma's messengers offer food to the Spaniards (Chapter 8). 21. Moctezuma and the Mexican war on hearing of the power of the Spaniards (Chapter 9). 22. Marina interprets for Cortés (Chapter 9). 23. Moctezuma debates whether to flee (Chapter 9). 24. Spaniards are welcomed in Tlatcalla (Chapter 11). 25. Moctezuma's emissaries meet the Spaniards between Ixtacpuc and Popocatepetl (Chapter 12). 26. Moctezuma's emissaries return to tell of the meeting with the Spaniards (Chapter 12). 27. Moctezuma's emissaries meet the drunken Cortés (Chapter 13). 28. Burning Mexican temples shown by the drunken Cortés (Chapter 13).

[p. 44(E)]

● 532

[726]

[728]



— After Paso y Troncoso

26. The road to Tenochtitlan is sown with maguery plants (Chapter 14). 30. Spaniards receive the submission of two of the Four Lords (Chapter 14). 31-36. Spaniards on the march from Iztapalapan to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

[p. 44(F)]

● 532



— After Pato y Troncos

37-43. Spaniards on the march from Iztapalapa to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

[p. 44 (G)]

● 532

[415
482
262]

[302]



[302]



— After Paso y Troncoso

44. Marina intervenes for the Spaniards when Moctezuma meets Cortés (Chapter 16). 45, 46. Spaniards take Moctezuma with them as they enter the great palace (Chapter 17). 47. Supplies demanded by the Spaniards (Chapter 17). 48. Moctezuma leads Cortés to the treasure (Chapter 17). 49, 50. Spaniards and allies loot the treasure house (Chapter 17). 51. Marina addresses Mexican noblemen (Chapter 18). 52. Mexicans leave supplies for the Spaniards (Chapter 18).

[p. 44(H)]

●532

[651
301
292]



[778
346]



—After Paso y Troncoso

53. Tribute left for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uixtlopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uixtlopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparation of the image of Uixtlopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

532
778



—After Paso y Troncoso

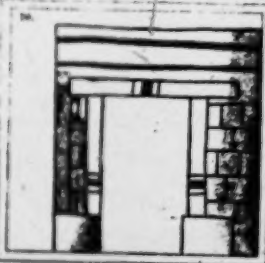
59-64. Preparation of the image of Uetzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(J)]

532
648
[778]



[341]



— *After Paso y Troncoso*

65. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 66-70. Massacre of participants in the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 20). 71. The massacre is announced to the Mexicans (Chapter 20). 72. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21).

[p. 44(K)]

532
648

[714]

[41]
482]

—After Paso y Troncoso

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Motezuma is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Itzcuatrin addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying furs into the pulcra (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

[p. 44 (L)]

532
648

— After Paso y Troncoso

80-82. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22). 83. Spaniards roust chieftains from the pyramid temple (Chapter 22). 84. Bodies of Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin are cast out of the palace by the Spaniards (Chapter 23). 85. Moctezuma's body is carried away (Chapter 23).

[p.44(M)]

532

726

[764]



[503]



[764]



—After Paso y Troncoso

86. Burning of Moctezuma's body (Chapter 23). 87. Itz'coatl's body is carried away (Chapter 23). 88. Burning of Itz'coatl's body (Chapter 23). 89. Spaniards set forth from their quarters in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 90. Spaniards are detested leaving (Chapter 24). 91-93. Flight from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 94. People of Tenochtitlan comfort the Spaniards (Chapter 25).

[p. 44(N)]

532
648

[501]

[415]



—After Paso y Troncoso

95-97. Mexicans receive Indians and host from the Tencall canal (Chapter 25). 98. Massacre at Calcutt (Chapter 25). 99. Spaniards climb up to Tencallbayacan (Chapter 25). 100, 101. People of Tencallbayacan welcome the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 102. Spaniards prepare to depart from Tencallbayacan (Chapter 26).

[P. 44(0)]

● 532



—After Paso y Troncoso

103. Spaniards reach Topotmotlan (Chapter 26). 104. Mexican warriors pursue the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 105. Spaniards reach Cidalcopec (Chapter 26). 106. Spaniards reach Xolox (Chapter 26). 107. Spaniards reach Astaqueroacan (Chapter 26). 108. Mexicans on mountain-top watch for the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 27). 109, 110. Battle at Mt. Toman (Chapter 27).

7 [p. 44(P)]

● 532
 [346]
 [766]



[751]



—After Paso y Troncoso

111. Burning of bodies of Mexican slain in battle at Mt. Toman (Chapter 27). 112, 113. Refurbishing of a temple in Tenochtitlan on the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 28). 114. Smallpox plague (Chapter 29). 115-117. Return of the Spaniards to attack Tenochtitlan (Chapter 29). 118. Spanish brigantines (Chapter 30).

[p. 44 (Q)]

532
726

— After Paso y Troncoso

119. Spaniards attack Coquiquian (Chapter 30). 120. Spaniards crumble the wall at Xolico (Chapter 30). 121. Fighting at Xolico (Chapter 30). 122. Spaniards pierce the wall at Uteixlan (Chapter 31). 123. Allies of the Spaniards fill the canals (Chapter 31). 124. Spanish horsemen ride in at Uteixlan (Chapter 31). 125. Spanish horseman spears a Tlathulcan (Chapter 31). 126. Mexican warriors unhorse and kill the Spaniard (Chapter 31). 127. Shorn ones land from warboats (Chapter 31).

[p. 44(R)]

532
726



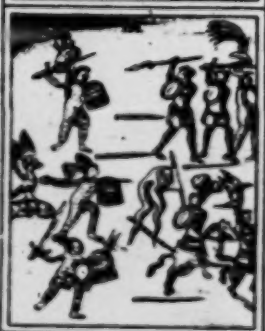
—After Paso y Troncoso

128. Spaniards are attacked on both sides (Chapter 31). 129. Mexican warriors use the captured cannon into the water at Tetamapiles (Chapter 31). 130. Mexicans flee from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 32). 131. English of Tlaxcala (Chapter 32). 132-134. Battle about Ayotlachitlan and Nahuatl (Chapter 32). 135-137. The warrior Tlaxcala in three disguises (Chapter 32).

[p. 44 (S)]

532
648
714
[502]

[727]



—After Paso y Troncoso

138, 139. Spaniards are fought off and withdrawn (Chapter 32). 140. Warriors of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Cuicuilco arrive to seek truce upon the Mexicans (Chapter 33). 141. Quauhtemotl and a nobleman (Chapter 33). 142-145. The truce of those of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Cuicuilco is prevented (Chapter 33).

[P 44(T)]

532

726

[687]

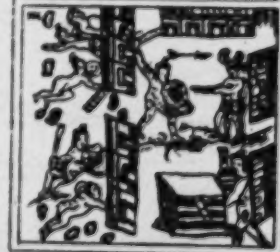


—After Paso y Troncoso

146. Quauhquemotec and Maymactin punish the wainers (Chapter 33). 147, 148. Spaniards arrive at Tlaximaco (Chapter 33, 34). 149-151. Mexicans disperse the Spaniards and capture many (Chapter 34). 152-155. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many allies (Chapter 35).

[p. 44 (u)]

532
726



—After Fox y Treason

156, 157. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many allies (Chapter 35). 158. Spaniards enter the market place at Tlatihuala (Chapter 36). 159. Spaniards fire the temple at Tlatihuala (Chapter 36). 160, 161. Battle in the market place at Tlatihuala (Chapter 36).

[p. 44(V)]



Thirty-first Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards came with the brigantines and took after those who were in boats in order to join battle with them, and then emerged and came to arrive near all the houses.

And when they had reached [the guns], thereupon they fired upon the wall. And the wall then gave way and parted from behind. And the second time [the shot] struck, the wall then fell to the ground destroyed; it burst open, pierced through. Then likewise the road appeared clear [of men]. And the chieftains who were by the wall then dispersed. All fled from there, escaping in terror. And all the various men [allied to the Spaniards] then quickly advanced filling each canal. Then they speedily leveled them with stones, adobe, and stone logs so that they were filled.

And after the canals had been filled, then came the horse[men], perhaps ten of them. They rode in a circle; they came wheeling about, twisting and circling. [And] once again horse[men] came, following after the others. And a number of Tlatilulcas who had quickly entered the palace which had been the home of Mucteruma then emerged in terror, and came up against the horse[men]. One [of them] lanced a Tlatilulcan. And though he had speared him, yet he took hold firmly of the iron lance. Then his companions went up to tear it from [the rider's] hands, threw him down upon his back, and upset him. And when he had fallen tumbled to the earth, they hit him repeatedly, they struck him on the back of the head. He died there.

Thereupon the Spaniards assembled and set out together. Then they reached Quauhquiyauc (the Eagle Gate). And they took with them the lumbered gun and the equipment which went with it. They placed it at the Eagle Gate. (And for this reason is it called the Eagle Gate, that there stood an eagle carved in stone, a good man's height tall — so high — and flanking it stood, on one side, an octotl, and on [the other] a wolf, likewise hewn of stone []).

Inje ommopalli ommatlaclli oca capitulo: vncan mijoa in quenjn Españoles ic valietique in vergantines, qujvalhocaque in acaltica nenca in qujnna-miqujmo: njmā ic valqujzque itech acico in jxqujch calli. 726

Auh in oonchichiuohque njmā ic ic qujvalmotla in tenamjtl: auh in tenamjtl, njmā tzatzaian, cuj-tlaclliuh. Auh inje uja vetz: njmā tlatittech ia in tenamjtl, vevetocac, vmpet, oncoion: njman no iuh-qujia chipacpul moquetz vtl. Auh in tiacavā in tenantitlan omoca, njmā ic valxitzineque, valnetlalolo, nemohcaqujtilo. Auh in jxqujch nepapan tlacatl: njman iciuhca comterentivi in acalotli, njman iciuhca comjmana itetia, xantica yoañ cequj quavtil inje tlatzotepque.

Auh in ic iuhquj, in ommetrop acalotli: njman ic ic valena in cavallome, aco matlacteme, ontlia-valoco, ontlamalacachoco, ommocovitzico, ommotevilacachoco: ic no ceppa centlamantli valevaque in cavallome, qujvalcuytlapitvitiague. Auh cequjntin tlatilulca calactivezque in tepcan catca in jchan motecucoma: njman ic valmauhcaqujcaia, qujmonmonamjctico in cavallotin: ce qujnilico in tlatilulca. Auh in oqujxilico, oc vel can in jtepuztotil: njman qujmacujlito in jcnjvan, icujtlapan qujpalmaiauh-que, qujvaltzineuhque: auh in otalpan vetzico meo qujvivitque, concueztocohvitzicque, oncan ommjc.

Niman ic ic qujvalcentlaqa, calcemolin in Españoles: njmā ic onscico in quauhqujiauc. Auh in venaac dequjqujtili qujvicativi, inlatquj ietiah, contecaque in quauhqujiauc. (Auh inje moteneca quauhqujiauc, ca vncan icaca in quauhtli, ted in tlatitxintli, vel connequeztalli inje quauhtic, inic vcapon: auh qujmatzactimani, in centlapal icaca oonlat: auh in centlapal icaca cujtlachtli, canno ted in tlatitxintli. Auh in ic iuhquj in vevet tiacavan, oc nt

[35]
532

- 635 Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the
 131 Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauh-teopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

- [291]
 714] 400 large mantles**
 1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

- [263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

- [316
 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger**
 10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)**

- 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies
 651 and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.
 [712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust."

* Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

** The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

** As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyoacan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente . . . daus . . . a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " . . . enbisan de quando en quando va presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

** *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147-148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarnición aperçhibida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265-266).

127
231
312

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important.

312

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts; but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest.

127
212

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e.g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán.

171
532

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the *Codex Mendoza*. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly

103
212

000 things, and not counting in this the ingots and slabs of
[326] gold, and the gold in grains from the mines. We began
to melt it down with the help of the Indian goldsmiths,
who were, as I have said, natives of Azcapotzalco and they
made broad bars of it, each bar measuring three fingers of
the hand across. When it was already melted and made
into bars, they brought another present separately which
the Grand Montezuma had said that he would give, and it
was a wonderful thing to behold the wealth of gold and
the richness of the other jewels that were brought, for
some of the Chalchihuites were so fine that among these
Caciques they were worth a vast quantity of gold. The
[532] three blow guns with their pellet moulds, and their cover-
ings of jewels and pearls, and pictures in feathers of little
birds covered with pearlshell and other birds, all were of
great value. I will not speak of the plumes and feathers
and other rich things for I shall never finish calling them
to mind.

Let me say that all the gold I have spoken about
was marked with an iron stamp, which had been made
by order of Cortés and the King's Officers, who had been
appointed by Cortés with the consent of all of us and in
the name of His Majesty until he should give other
instructions. At that time these were Gonzalo Mejía,
who was treasurer, and Alonzo Dávila who was accountant,
and the stamp was the royal arms like those on a real¹ and
the size of a testoon.² The mark was not put on the rich
jewels which it did not seem to us should be taken to
pieces.

For weighing all these bars of gold and silver, and the
jewels which were not taken to pieces, we had neither
marked weights nor scales, and it seemed to Cortés and to

¹ Real, a small silver coin.

² "Toston de a quatro," a half peso—four reales.

646 the critical period of Cortés' first stay at Tenochtitlan, the twenty "speakers" held daily meetings at the official house.¹⁸⁵

In a society based upon kin we cannot expect a clear division of the powers of government, particularly as there were no written laws,¹⁸⁶ and custom alone ruled. The functions of the ancient Mexican council were not properly legislative, but they were rather *directive* and *judicial* combined. One of its first duties was, however, to maintain harmony among the kins.

The twenty independent social units composing the Mexican tribe, while bound together by the necessity of mutual aid to secure territorial independence, could not be expected always to live in peace with one another. Difficulties would necessarily arise between kin and kin, and to prevent such disputes from leading to actual warfare,¹⁸⁷ the council as a body of *official arbitrators* was needed.

618 According to the rules of kinship, the calpulli was not only
646 bound to avenge any wrongs suffered by one of its members, but
695 it was also responsible for the offences committed by the kinfolk towards any outsider.¹⁸⁸ Hence theft committed outside of the

Durán (cap. I, p. 33. XI, pp. 107, 108, 109, XIV, pp. 117, 123, XVI, p. 132, XVIII, p. 150), etc., etc. We forbear further quotations, since they would be too numerous. All go to prove that the council was frequently called together between the times of regular meeting. Quotations from *Tenozomoc* ("Crónicas Mexicanas") are useless, since they are very numerous and agree with those of Durán in the main. The fact of irregular meetings of the council having been called during the conquest, is further proven by *Sahagún* (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 7), and *Torguemade* (Lib. IV, cap. XIV, p. 283).

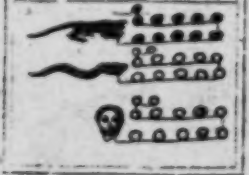
¹⁸⁵ *Bernal Díaz de Castillo* ("Historia verdadera," Vedia, Vol. II, cap. XCV, p. 98): "y siempre á la cuintina estaban en su compañía veinte grandes señores y consejeros y capitanes." (Cap. XCVII, p. 99): "Ya he dicho otra vez en el capítulo que de ello habla, de la manera que entraban á negociar y el acato que el tenían, y como siempre estaban en su compañía en aquel tiempo para despachar negocios veinte hombres ancianos, que eran jueces."

[213
533] ¹⁸⁶ A number of paintings are mentioned as representing the customs and manners of the natives. Specimens of these are found in *Codex Mendoza*, Lam., 53 to 73 inclusive. But none of these contained, or could contain or express, anything like a law. Compare, on Mexican paintings in general and their value, "On the Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America," in Vol. 37 of "Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science." Señor Orasco y Berro ("Códices Mendocinos. Ensayo de desciframiento geroglífico," beginning in No. 3, of Vol. I, "Anales del Museo Nacional de México") has commenced a publication which can be expected to shed much light on such picture-leaves, and the true position which they held among the ancient Mexicans.

¹⁸⁷ Conflicts between the inhabitants of different "barrios" during festive turnouts and religious gatherings could not always be prevented.

¹⁸⁸ *Morgan* ("Ancient Society," pp. 76 and 77). *Darío Padilla* ("Historia de la Fundación y Desarrollo de la Provincia de Santiago de México," Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 85). The custom is general among other tribes and Mr. Morgan has adverted to it among the Maya of Yucatan and the Peruvians. It would be unnecessary display to produce further evidence: the remarkably clear statements of Mr. Morgan fully "cover the case."

532
2787
[191]



— from *Paints of the Aztecs*

1. Quail and Quail (Chapter 1). 2-5. One Quail and following signs (Chapter 2). 6. One Deer (Chapter 3). 7. Mother with child (Chapter 3). 8. 9. Two Rabbit: drinkwater and drinkwater (Chapter 4, 5).

[p. 126 d]

532
1787



[273]



— After Pan y Troncos

10-13. Two Rabbits: drunkenness and drunkenness (Chapters 4, 5); 14, 15. One Flower: musician, musician, musician, musician (Chapter 7).

[p. 126 e]

532
4787
[534]



[534]



[851]

— After Fox y Tzucman

16-20. One Flower: medicine, curandero, subordination (Chapter 7). 21. Seven Rain (Chapter 8). 22, 23. Eight Flower and looking of child (Chapter 8).

[p. 126 f]

532
x787



— After Paso y Troncoso

24. Eagle Flower: bathing of child (Chapter 9). 25-31. One Death and associated good and ill fortune (Chapter 9).

[p. 126 g]

532
x 787



— *After Paine y Trousseau*

32. Eight Water (Chapter 10; the text correctly refers to Eight Rain). 33, 34. Nine Oxen and bathing of child (Chapter 10). 35, 36. Ten Eagle and bathing of child (Chapter 10). 37. One Rain (Chapter 11). 38. Descent of the "Windflower" (Chapter 11). 39. Imprisoned widowers (Chapter 11). 40. Bathing of child (Three Crocodile, Chapter 11).

[p. 126 h]

532
λ 787



— After Paso y Troncoso

41. Bathing of child (Three Crosses, Chapter 11). 42-44. Four Wind and associated scenes (Chapter 12). 47. Macmillan's (Chapter 13). 48. Seven Serpents (Chapter 13).

[p. 126 i]

532
x787



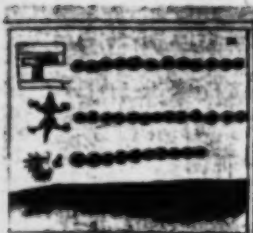
—After Paso y Troncoso

40-51. Eagle Death and Nine Deer, and bathing of child (Chapter 13). 52. Ten Rabbits (Chapter 14).
53-55. One Grass and its masses (Chapter 15).

[p. 126 j]

532
x787

[76]



[40]



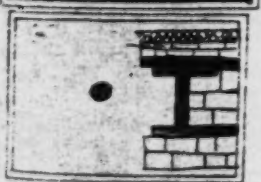
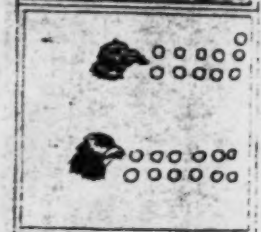
[76]



— After Paso y Troncoso

56. Twelve House, Thirteen Lizard, and Ten Grasshopper (Chapter 15). 57. Uxtilpacuhtli (Chapter 17).
58, 59. Marchant (Chapter 18). 60, 61. These Deer and halting of child (Chapter 19). 62. Uxtilpacuhtli
(Chapter 20).

[p. 126 k]

532
x787

—After Paso y Troncoso

63. Women and child (Chapter 26). 64. Eleven Eagle and Twelve Vulture (Chapter 20). 65. One Dog (Chapter 25). 66. One House (Chapter 27). 67, 68. Women and child: man hawking (Chapter 28). 69, 70. One House and following-day signs (Chapter 28).

[p. 126 l]

532
x787

[776]



—After Paso y Troncoso

71, 72. One water and bathing of child (Chapter 30). 73. [Eleven] Rain (Chapter 30). 74. One Wind and Quetzimatzli (Chapter 31). 75, 76. Thieves (Chapter 32). 77. One Eagle (Chapter 33).

[p.126 m]

532
x787

[776]



— After Part 1, Totoncos

78-82. Descent of the "Golden" and attendant ceremonies (Chapter 33). 83-85. Visit to the recently delivered mother (Chapter 35).

[p. 126 m]

532
K1787



— After Paso y Troncoso

96-01. Feast in honor of a new-born child (Chapter 17). 96-02. Two Eagle and following day signs (Chapter 17). 96-03. One Rabbit's good fortune (Chapter 18).

[p. 126 0]

532
x787



[241]

[415]

94-101. One Rabbit's good fortune (Chapter 18).

— After Paso y Troncoso

[p. 126 p]

532
7787



—After Paso y Troncoso

1. The howling beast (Chapter 1). 2. The night owl (Chapter 3). 3. The owl (Chapter 4). 4. The frog (Chapter 10). 5. The weeping man (Chapter 11). 6. Contention (Chapter 12). 7. The corpse in wrappings for the dead (Chapter 13). 8. Placing water in the cooking pot (Appendix, Chapter 4). 9. The older brother drinks before the younger (Appendix, Chapter 6).

[p. 126 v]